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IN MEMORIAM
ALEXANDER GOLDSTEIN

With the Compliments of
THE AUTHOR.

THE LIFE

AND

PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

BY

CHARLES MALTBY,

LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
FOR CALIFORNIA.

1884.

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STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA:

DAILY INDEPENDENT STEAM POWER PRINT.

1884.

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NEWSPAPER REMARKS.

Knowing the author and his familiarity with this always interesting subject, his ability to handle it, his conscientious painstaking and his perfect reliability, we anticipate in his forthcoming book a valuable contribution to the personal history of the most interesting character that ever figured on the stage of human action in the United States, and one of the most interesting in all history.—*Los Angeles Weekly Mirror*.

We have read all that is extant relating to the life, character and public services of the immortal Lincoln, and can say in all sincerity that, in our judgment, the forthcoming volume from the pen of Mr. Maltby will get nearer to the heart of the rising generation than any other history of the martyr Lincoln. What will impress the reader of Maltby's *Life of Lincoln* is that, without verbosity or undue embellishment, it wells up fresh and pure from a heart earnest and honest in its devotion to the memory of a revered friend.—*Petaluma Weekly Argus*.

Mr. Maltby, the author, is a resident of Stockton, and we rejoice to know that we have in our midst a citizen who is capable of producing so excellent a book on the grandest character of the age.—*Stockton Record*.

This work will contain many incidents of Mr. Lincoln's early life never given to the public before, as well as his later acts that have so endeared his memory to the American people. From the advance pages, we predict the work will be a marked success.—*Lodi Sentinel*.

We bespeak for Mr. Maltby hearty welcome for his book, which a long and close connection with Mr. Lincoln, previous to and during his greatness, makes him qualified to write.—*Santa Barbara Independent*.

Advance sheets of the "Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln," by Charles Maltby, have been received at the JOURNAL office. There are certainly in the introductory pages an excellence and merit that bespeaks success for the entire work.—*Tulare County Journal*.

Mr. Maltby was formerly a partner of Mr. Lincoln and is familiar with many unpublished incidents in the life of the martyred President. The work will meet with extensive sale.—*Santa Barbara Press*.

INTRODUCTION.

On our country's record are inscribed the names of many that live and should live, and in their memorial our Republic is honored in their remembrance.

Among those worthies who have passed to their reward, there are none whose life-work shines with a brighter luster than that of him who, in the interests and services of humanity and freedom, has perfected the ideal, and executed the grandest work for his country and his race the world has ever witnessed—whom his countrymen loved and delighted to honor—Abraham Lincoln.

I have written, and now present to the American public, a brief account of the life and public services of that great and good man. I have been moved to this, in part, by a personal acquaintance of thirty-five years with Mr. Lincoln—commencing at the time of his majority, in daily business associations with him for a period which resulted in an intimacy and friendship which continued through his life, and which friendship and confidence he manifested during his administration in giving the writer appointments of offices of trust and honor on the Pacific Coast. Incentives formed by those personal relations with Mr. Lincoln have made the writing of his life a pleasure. It is an offering to his friendship and memory, while opportunity is presented to illustrate his personal character, to portray those interesting features of his private and public life, and to exhibit his social, religious and political principles.

It has been my aim and purpose to present a true and faithful exhibition of the character and eminent services of that good man, narrating in an abbreviated form the events of his life, the inception, the growth and fruition of those grand and humane principles which have made his name and fame

immortal, and to impress upon the minds of my youthful readers that success in our purposes and aspirations in life is attained by constant effort and perseverance; and to give them an example worthy of emulation in their devotion to principle and love of country, as well as to finally strengthen their purpose and aim in sustaining those principles and measures of National unity and personal liberty which he left us as our heritage, and which have been and are the policy of our Government, and which, under succeeding administrations, have guided our Nation and people to a state of prosperity, to an eminence unparalleled in the history of the world.

I have freely consulted the biographies of Lincoln by Messrs. Raymond and Holland, to the correctness of which I can bear testimony.

I trust that this volume will give pleasure and inspiration to the reader in the contemplation of the life and public services of the martyred President, and incentives to a high and consecrated love of country and humanity. With this, its objects will have been successful and its designs accomplished.

CHARLES MALTBY.

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L I F E
AND
PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

The character of the subject of these memoirs is so unique, and his life so illustrious, that a narrative of his parentage and early history is of peculiar interest to the American people. It is a notable career. His devotion to the Nation's interest, his connection with and management of the great and most momentous events of our country's history give special importance and interest to the place of his nativity, to his early life, to his youthful hardships, to his limited facilities for obtaining an early education and to his success amidst his struggles and toils for an upright manhood.

When, in 1860, he was about to be called to the highest office in the gift of the people, he was consulted with reference to incidents of his early history. His reply was characteristic: "You will find the whole of my life in a single line of Gray's Elegy, 'The short and simple annals of the poor.'" At that time he did not realize the interest and curiosity that were being manifested by his fellow-citizens to be informed of his early life and parentage.

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, on the 12th day of February, 1809, in a rustic

log cabin, such as were the tenements of most of the emigrants in that State at that early day.

The early slumbers of the young stranger were not broken by the shrill whistle of the locomotive, nor by the sound of the church bells calling their devotees to their regular hours of worship. The woodman's ax as he felled the forest, the crack of the huntsman's rifle, or the shrill screech of the panther or howl of the wolf broke the stillness of his surroundings. Here no scholastic or collegiate edifice with its portals stood open to receive the youthful student, but in Nature's unpolluted and stately surroundings was planted the germ of those principles and deeds that have made his name and fame immortal.

The ancestors of Abraham Lincoln settled in Berks county, Pennsylvania, at an early day; they were of English extraction; they were of the Quaker order and principles. Mr. Lincoln held that they came over from England under the auspices of William Penn, while some of his biographers, from the similarity of family Christian names, class them as a branch of the Lincoln families of New England. The more immediate ancestors of Lincoln, previous to 1752, removed from Berks county, Pennsylvania, to Virginia, and settled in Shenandoah valley. Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President, was born in that valley, Rothingham county, and removed from there to Kentucky in 1780. The desire of change and love of adventure, which appears peculiar to the Lincoln family, and the captivating reports from the Western lands of promise, seem to have been the inducements for him with his young and tender wife to leave the home of his nativity and the land of security and plenty for the then savage wilderness of Kentucky. He settled in Bullitt county, and in 1784 he was killed by the savages while at work in the field, a short distance from his family and cabin. He left a widow and five helpless and dependent children; sons—Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas (the father of the President); daughters—Mary and Nancy. The widow, soon after the murder of her husband, removed to Washington county and there, as necessity and poverty prescribed, raised to mature years her dependent and helpless family. Mordecai removed late in life from Kentucky to Illinois. Josiah, while young, settled in Indiana. The daughters married and settled in Kentucky.

Thomas, the youngest son (father of the President), by the death of his father when he was six years of age, was left in the care of a widowed mother in straitened circumstances, with no immediate friends or relatives to help her bear her burdens, and only the kind offices of the neighbors, many of whom were almost as needy and helpless as herself. There were no schools, and the mother had no time to devote to the instruction of her children. Thomas grew up to manhood with no knowledge of his own language and no

knowledge of letters except those of his own name, and this only could he write. As soon as he was able to provide for himself he became a day laborer and a number of years were spent in laboring for others, and when not thus engaged he was hunting game, of which Kentucky was noted for the abundance and variety. Laboring under these disadvantages he grew up to manhood ignorant, wanting in those energetic and enterprising impulses which give success to the efforts and industries of life.

He was held by his friends and neighbors as a man of strict integrity, notably fond of telling anecdotes and stories, loved by his family and respected by all his associates. He was of medium stature, well-proportioned, robust and elastic in his movements, and clothed in the rustic garb which his indigence necessitated, he was a fair representative of the humble pioneers of that day and age.

Thus, from early boyhood until he was twenty-eight years of age, was his life spent with no plans for the future and no opportunities for acquiring a competence for the present or future wants. He now concluded to settle in life and to assume the duties, relations and responsibilities of a married life.

In 1806 he married Nancy Hanks. She was a native of Virginia, and came to Kentucky, some years previous to her marriage, with some relatives. Coming from Virginia to Kentucky at an early age, her opportunities and facilities for obtaining a common education had been very limited and meager. She was of medium stature, light and fragile in form, of a grave and sensitive nature, pure and heroic, and of a deep and abiding affection, loving all and beloved by all her associates.

Soon after their marriage her husband took her to their humble dwelling, which he had prepared for their residence. It was a lowly home, still it was a home where love, affection and virtue reigned supreme.

This was the birthplace of the President, and here, within a few years of her married life, she had born to her husband three children; the first, a daughter named Sarah; second, Abraham; third, Thomas, who died in infancy. The father and mother of Abraham were members of the Baptist Church, and inculcated in the minds and hearts of their children the essential, holy truths of the Bible. The mother, following at her humble distance in the footsteps of the illustrious mothers of Adams, Washington, Madison and Clay, began early in her humble way to instill in the minds of her children lessons of patriotism, love, purity and fidelity from the inspiration of God's holy word, and from the history of the revolution and the lives of Franklin and Washington, and other books which could be obtained. Thus were their young minds directed to lives and pursuits noble and elevating in their character.

Here, in this lowly cottage, with mother for teacher and sister for a companion, the first eight years of the President's life were passed. Those days of his childhood were the most impressive and important in the history of his life. Drawn by the secluded and tender relations of his humble home to those endearing and delicate affections of son and brother, he early evinced a wonderful love and affection for his mother and sister, which grew with his growth and increased with his years, until it became a leading and absorbing principle of his life, and on it was engrafted all of the humanity and kindness of his later years.

The associates of Abraham Lincoln who were favored with his friendship and confidence in his youth, and in those days when he was struggling with poverty and adversity for place and influence with his fellow-citizens, and heard from his own lips how a devoted mother labored to instill correct principles into his young mind, and to guide his footsteps in the paths of virtue and Christian influence, saw early in his life omens of success and grand ideals of human excellence. But to the American people, and to the world, it required the labor of a life and a martyr's death to exhibit fully his manhood, his tender, sympathetic regard for suffering humanity and his patriotic principles which inspired the people with a devotion to country and nationality such as the world has never witnessed.

The historian, the patriot, looking back for the first cause of those grand results, will find that in the lowly cottage, in the humble family circle, his mother was his inspiration; her wise counsels and her blessed words and example planted the seeds in a heart that was filial, obedient and affectionate, and at the death of his mother, when he was ten years of age, her lessons of divine wisdom and hallowed influences had become a part of his being, and he could say as he often said in his later years: "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother—blessings on her sacred memory."

The parents of Abraham were desirous that their children should receive at least the first rudiments of an education, but in those early days in Kentucky, schools were few and irregular. Abraham, when he was seven years old, with his sister, commenced his attendance at the nearest school, which was four miles distant from their home. His first teacher was Zachariah Riney, and second, Caleb Hazen. He attended those two schools six months, and learned to read well and write a fair, legible hand.

At this period of his life, being eight years old, his father became dissatisfied with his location and surroundings in Kentucky, and proposed to sell his humble home and remove to a more desirable locality. The State at that time was settling up rapidly, and many of the settlers, by slave labor, were becoming prosperous and wealthy. Abraham's father inherited the Quaker

principles of his Pennsylvania ancestors in regard to slavery, and realized fully the fact that the institution of slavery was making the situation of the poor man hopeless and unpleasant, and that the future was not promising and hopeful for himself and family. Defective land titles in Kentucky were an additional cause of removal. The Northwestern Territory, which had been set apart and dedicated to freedom by the fathers of the Republic, was at that time attracting the attention of those who desired to remove from the slave States to free territory.

The father finally decided to remove to Indiana, it having been admitted the year previous as a State into the Union, and although then an unbroken wilderness it was rapidly settling up with a vigorous and enterprising population. Mr. Lincoln soon found a purchaser for his homestead, for which he received ten barrels of whisky and \$20 in money. The homestead was on the Rolling Fork river, and as soon as the sale was concluded he constructed a small flat-boat, and putting aboard his heavy household goods, tools and whisky, he bid adieu to his family and was soon sailing down the river on his way to select a new home in Indiana. Soon after reaching the Ohio river his frail boat upset and the cargo was thrown into the river. Some men on the bank, witnessing the accident, assisted in saving the boat; all the freight was lost, except three barrels of whisky, some carpenter's tools and a few other articles. He soon proceeded down the river to a ferry, where the road crossed the river, and procuring a guide and team made his way, cutting a road most of the way through the forest, eighteen miles, when Spencer county was reached and the site of his new home selected. Mr. Lincoln, now leaving his goods in care of a family living a few miles distant, returned to Kentucky on foot, and made preparations at once to remove his family. Before leaving the old homestead, Mr. Lincoln, with Abraham and sister, visited the grave of the little son and brother and paid their last tribute of affection and sorrow, an incident often mentioned by Abraham with tender emotion and interest.

In a short time the Lincoln family bid adieu to their old home and slavery, and on horseback, Mrs. Lincoln and her daughter riding one horse, Abraham another and the father a third, and driving two or three pack animals, after seven days' journey through the wilderness, they reached the location selected for their future home. The next morning after their arrival Mr. Lincoln and Abraham, with his small ax in hand, were engaged in clearing a site for a log cabin. This being done the assistance of a neighbor was procured, and in a few days Mr. Lincoln had a comfortable log house, eighteen feet square, erected; the roof was covered with shakes, the floor was laid with slabs hewn with a broad ax and the door was made of the same

material. Slabs laid on poles overhead formed Abraham's chamber, and he, who was in after years to occupy the White House, here in his humble loft enjoyed many nights of sweet, undisturbed repose. With an ax, saw, hammer and a few nails, a bedstead, table and a few stools were made, and the building was ready for occupancy. The loss of the household goods by the upsetting of the boat on the river while in transit could not be immediately made good and thus the household furnishing department was very plain and meager.

Persons whose lives have been spent in the old settlements of the country, and the youth of the present day, cannot realize or imagine the humility and lowliness of border life and the simplicity and plainness of the household appointments of that period.

The Lincoln family, settled in their new home, have hard and constant labor to perform. The land must be cleared and prepared for the crops necessary for the sustenance of the family and stock, and for supplying the simple wants of the household. Abraham was now eight years of age. He was furnished with a light ax and early learned to use it efficiently, and in this new field of labor he entered with zeal and earnestness, assisting his father, as far as his age and strength would permit, in clearing the land for cultivation. This labor and exercise strengthened and made elastic his physical system, which became fully developed in his early manhood.

Here, on the outskirts of civilization, surrounded only by pure and gentle influences which were forming his character and habits for industry, integrity and usefulness, was Providence preparing him for the leadership in a momentous strife for National unity and universal liberty.

Abraham had but little taste and desire for outdoor sports. He usually spent his evenings at home, reading such books as he could obtain, after the labors and duties of the day were performed. It was some time after their settlement in Indiana before schools were established in the neighborhood, and during the several years the family lived in Indiana, Abraham attended school six months, making his attendance at the different schools about one year during his life. In this attendance he became a good reader and writer, and proficient in arithmetic.

Two years after the settlement of the family in Indiana, when Abraham was ten years of age, his mother, frail and delicate, was taken with consumption and quickly and gently passed away. The daughter and son were now as orphans; the humble home was now desolate; the loving, kind voice, the tender embraces and instructions of a fond, affectionate mother were to be remembered as mementos of the past. But she had been spared for a time

to plant the seeds of love, virtue and affection, which had taken deep root, and which in after years produced the richest and most abundant fruit.

They lay the beloved wife and mother away to rest beneath the overspreading trees near the humble cottage, and there the son and the daughter often repaired to weep and mourn over their sad and irreparable bereavement. The mother was laid away to rest without a formal Christian burial. But with this the husband, son and daughter were not content, in this their sad affliction. They remembered their parson, Elkin, who had ministered to their spiritual wants in Kentucky. Some months after his mother's death Abraham wrote a letter to Parson Elkin informing him of his mother's death, and requested him to come to Indiana and perform the last sad and sacred funeral rites at his mother's grave.

When the kind parson received Abraham's letter it recalled vividly to his mind the stricken Christian family, and how often their humble hospitable door had been opened to him to receive his spiritual ministrations and to minister to their temporal wants. These recollections induced a favorable reply to the request, and he informed Abraham that on a Sabbath not far distant he would be present to officiate as he desired. Notice was given to the friends and neighbors, and at the time appointed the settlers and friends gathered to the sequestered place where the remains of the loved wife and mother were buried.

On that solemn Sabbath morning, accompanied by the stricken family, the good parson was received by the neighbors, seated on logs and rustic seats around the grave, assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to one so universally beloved.

It is Spring time. The majestic trees overshadowing the consecrated spot are putting on their livery of green—fit emblems of man's immortality. Flowers, in all their variety and beauty, are springing up all around the hallowed ground, representing the Christian's hope beyond the grave. The parson takes a seat at the head of the grave and bows his head in meditation; the stillness is only broken by the sobs of the bereaved and the melody of the feathered songsters as they flit from tree to tree.

The occasion becomes more impressive as the beloved minister rises and invokes the mercies and blessings of the Great Author of our being on the friends and bereaved for their reliance on and submission to the Divine will, and following in his discourse to his audience he illustrates the graces of Christian character, the ground of the Christian's hope beyond the grave, which were so signally manifested in the life and death of the devoted Christian wife and mother who had departed, and with that warm praise

which her life had merited and deserved, he holds her up as an example worthy to be imitated in all the walks of true Christian experience and womanhood.

Those tender, solemn services were treasured up in the heart and memory of Abraham, and it was many years before the desolation and sorrows of that sad bereavement passed away, and the frequent reference of Mr. Lincoln in his mature years to his early life and his mother's teachings prove how vividly were impressed on his mind and life her Christian example, her constant, diligent efforts to create and impress his young and tender heart with pure and noble motives. His after life proved that he was true to her teachings, to her pious and exemplary life, and to the high and noble principles implanted by her in his heart and memory in his young and tender years.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD.

The period of our boyhood lives, from ten to twenty years, is regarded as the most important and interesting. Examples and principles inculcated now become lasting and salutary. Habits are now formed, and principles are interwoven into our natures which, with few exceptions, shape our destiny and circumstances through life. The principles inculcated and implanted in our earlier years grow with our growth, form character in our youth, and produce their fruit later in life.

Abraham Lincoln had now passed childhood, and entered into boyhood. We now more fully recognize the graces and principles impressed and implanted by a devoted Christian mother, which gave basis to his character, which led him in the paths of honor and virtue and into fellowship with the people, and joined him in heart and purpose with the laboring classes. No elevation in society or political honors lessened his respect for the sons of toil. His home was in the far West, and on its broad prairies he was to learn lessons of self-reliance which would lead him to an upright manhood. Simple in life and manners, he was now growing up with the people; his love of home, his devotion to and tender regard for his sister, his fidelity and respect for the memory of his mother, and his habits of study and fondness for books made him noted with his associates and acquaintances as a boy of unusual and remarkable reputation, and won the esteem and interest of all his neighbors and companions.

He was genial and sociable with his comrades, and entered at times with zest and pleasure into all the innocent pastimes and amusements of the day. He loved labor, was actively industrious and assisted, as far as age and strength would permit, in the improvement and cultivation of the homestead.

He had early acquired a taste and love for reading, which was remarkable for one of his age, and all the books he could obtain by borrowing from his friends and neighbors were read and re-read. His early reading was limited by the scarcity of books and the want of means to purchase those that

could be obtained. The Bible, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Æsop's *Fables* and Dillworth's *Spelling Book* constituted the family library, and they were diligently studied, and their contents soon became as familiar to him as household words. These books, with his mother's teachings, laid the foundation for that purity and excellence of character, simplicity and earnestness of purpose which has never been excelled.

He afterwards procured Ramsey's and Ward's life of Washington, the life of Franklin and subsequently the life of Henry Clay. From the life of Washington he had lessons of patriotism and love of country worthy of imitation, and a history of the revolution which he loved to study. From the lives of Franklin and Clay he had examples from those who had risen by their own efforts and industry to professional and political distinction, from conditions in life almost as humble as his own. He studied over those books until his heart glowed with a noble emulation and true patriotism which were the moving spirit and purpose of his subsequent life.

As an evidence of his love of books and his integrity, the following notable incident may be mentioned: A Mr. Crawford had loaned Abraham a copy of Ramsey's life of Washington. After reading it one evening he laid it by, as he thought safely, but a storm arose during the night and the rain beat in through a crack in the house, and the book was soaked through and its appearance much soiled. What could he do? He had no money to pay for the book. He, however, took it and went to Mr. Crawford and showed him the injury, and offered to work for him until he was fully satisfied. Mr. Crawford accepted the offer, and Abraham received the book as his own for three days' labor in pulling corn fodder. His manliness and honesty won the respect and esteem of Mr. Crawford and all his neighbors, who were soon informed of the incident.

By the death of his mother, the domestic duties of the household devolved upon Sarah, now twelve years of age. By the teachings and instructions of her mother, she had thus early in life become versed in those domestic duties which, well performed, render the home so desirable and attractive, and in these labors and duties she received all the assistance that could be rendered by a kind and affectionate brother. How often in mature years, and still later in life, does memory recall many pleasing incidents of our childhood—the hearth-stones around which was gathered the family circle—the kind father, the loving mother and the affectionate brothers and sisters, the kind favors and services conferred and the grateful smiles of approbation returned. Those blissful hours have been treasured up as precious mementos of the past, adding more and still more to our hallowed happiness and to the aspirations of our better natures. Mr. Lincoln often, in his mature years, referred to his early home, and the household memories which he had garnered up in

his heart as treasures which he held sacred; and as they were homely pictures of rural life they were full of the filial relations which ennoble our natures and make our humanity next to the divine.

Some eighteen months after the death of Abraham's mother, his father married and brought to his home Mrs. Sally Johnson of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, an acquaintance of former years. She was already the mother of three children by her former marriage. The union of the two families was pleasant and harmonious, the maternal duties of stepmother were merged into those of mother, and the kindness and affection which she manifested toward Abraham and his sister were gratefully remembered and appreciated by him then and in after years. She lived to see her protege gradually rise by his own efforts and industry to stations of honor and fame, and finally to become the honored ruler of the Nation, and then fall a martyr to freedom, mourned by his people and lovers of freedom throughout the world.

The stepmother brought into the family one son and two daughters by her former marriage. The son, named John, became an intimate associate of Abraham, and jointly, as they grew up, they became useful, helpful in improving and carrying on the work of the farm. Abraham, when his services were not required at home, frequently went out to labor for the neighbors when opportunity offered. He was regarded by the settlers as a young lad remarkable for his industry and ability, and by them his services were frequently sought and employed. He had no superior in physical strength, and was pre-eminent in the various athletic feats and festive amusements of the day.

He never made any show or display of his superiority over his associates. With a modest estimate of his abilities and powers he never assumed aught save the gentleness and simplicity which made him so distinguished. Of the many instances of his kindness and goodness of heart we may make one record here: One evening, returning home from a house-raising in the neighborhood, with his companions, a poor drunkard was found by the wayside in a helpless condition, lying on the ground. Abraham's companions were in favor of leaving him to his fate, but Abraham would not consent. At his request the helpless sot was lifted upon Abraham's shoulders, and he carried him a quarter of a mile to the nearest house and nursed the inebriate until the next morning. The night had been very cold and he had the pleasure of believing that he had saved the drunkard's life.

In acts of kindness and mercy of similar character in his youth were seen the germs of those humane principles, which in his manhood were more fully and beautifully illustrated in his public life, and in which we can see those real ideals of true greatness and excellence, which are valued as the most precious of the Nation's treasures.

Abraham, from his books, had learned more of his country's history than was common to the youth of his day and age who were in like manner situated, and we can imagine that with this knowledge he had desires and aspirations for a life more exalted, and one that would give promise of elevation and advancement. He had now arrived at the age when the routine of daily labor on the farm had become monotonous and irksome, and when the imagination is fruitful and buoyant, and desires and anticipations are reaching out for a more diversified field of labor and attainments.

The want of a home market for the produce raised on the Lincoln farm rendered their labors, in a measure, abortive. Abraham, now eighteen years of age, resolved to provide a remedy. He was quite a mechanical genius and had acquired, in a considerable degree, the use of carpenter's tools. He resolved to build a small flat-boat and ship the produce of the farm to some of the towns below, on the Ohio river, for a market. The boat was constructed in due time and loaded with the produce of the farm, and Abraham and his stepbrother made a successful voyage of some eighty miles and obtained a good price for their commodities.

An incident occurred on this trip, while at one of the landings on the river, which made a lasting and pleasant impression on Abraham's memory, and which later in life he related to his Secretary, Seward. He said: "As I stood at the landing a steamer approached, coming down the river. At the same time two passengers came to the river landing who wished to be taken out to the steamer with their baggage. Looking at the small boats, they singled out my boat and asked me to take them to the steamer. This I did, and after seeing them and their trunks on board I had the pleasure of receiving a silver half-dollar from each one of my passengers. I could scarcely believe my eyes. You may think it was a very little thing, but it was a most important incident in my life. I could scarcely believe that I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day. The world seemed wider and fairer than ever before to me. I was a more hopeful and confident being from that time."

This successful enterprise of Abraham in his first voyage and trading expedition opened up an opportunity for a more important and responsible engagement. A trading merchant of his acquaintance applied to him to take charge of a flat-boat and its cargo, and in company with his son to take it down to the sugar plantations on the Mississippi river below Natchez.

The entire management of the business was placed in Abraham's hands. This engagement and responsibility speak well for his reputation, for ability and integrity. The trader, knowing his tact and honesty, was willing to intrust the cargo and his son to his care and management. It was with

delight and pleasure that Abraham entered upon this voyage of twelve hundred miles. He was to see much of the country of which he had read and heard, and thought and imagination were now active. He now, at the age of 19, had grown to be a tall and powerful young man. He was over six feet in height, remarkable even among the tall and athletic race of pioneers of that day.

The cargo consisted mostly of corn and bacon, and the object was to sell and barter at the sugar plantations on the banks of the river. To one making his first voyage on the Mississippi, the scenery and incidents would be naturally exciting and interesting. Many similar crafts would be passed or sailed with in company; villages, towns and sugar plantations, with their numerous white tenements for the slaves, would be of interest, and occasionally steamers would pass and repass. All would be new to Abraham; all would be garnered up in memory for thought and reflection in after years.

An incident occurred on the trip which is worthy of note. At a sugar plantation below Natchez the boat was landed and tied up at the close of the day for the purpose of trade. Abraham and his companion had laid down to rest. Late in the night they were awakened by hearing a noise on the shore. Abraham asked who is there and what is wanted, but receiving no reply, he sprang up and saw seven negroes coming on board, evidently with the intention of plunder. Seizing a hand-spike, he at once rushed upon them, and knocked the first one on board into the river; the two following were served in the same way; the others, seeing the fate of their companions, turned and ran. Abraham and his companion leaped on shore, and following them they overtook and severely punished them. As they returned to the boat the others made their escape from the water, and all made their flight in the darkness as fast as possible.

Abraham and his assistant returned on board somewhat bruised in the affray. They immediately pushed out from the shore and floated down the river some distance, made fast to the bank, and watched until morning. The trip and venture were both successful. The cargo was sold; the boat was disposed of for lumber, and the young men returned home, making the journey partly by steam and on foot, and Abraham received the commendation and approbation of his employer for the successful and satisfactory issue of the enterprise committed to his charge.

Four years after the second marriage of Abraham's father, Sarah Lincoln was married to Aaron Grisby, she being sixteen years of age. She died within a year of her marriage, leaving Abraham without brother or sister. His devotion and love for her had been most deep, tender and affectionate, and her early death was to him a sad and grievous affliction.

The difficulty and labor attending the clearing of the land of the heavy growth of timber and preparing the land for cultivation had created a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction in the Lincoln family with their location in Indiana. Reports of the prairie lands of Illinois, ready cleared for the plow and hoe to make them immediately productive, tended to increase this discontent.

In the Fall of 1829 Dennis Hanks, a cousin of Abraham's mother, was sent to Illinois to examine the country and its advantages for settlement. He brought a favorable report on his return of the portion of the State he visited, and advised their removal to the prairies of Illinois, which he considered a very desirable field for enterprise and successful farming operations. This report decided the family in favor of removal.

Mr. Lincoln sold his homestead of one hundred and sixty acres, and in March, 1830, he started with his family and two sons-in-law, married to the two daughters of his second wife, for a new home.

Abraham had now reached his majority, but he would remain with the family and assist them in their removal, and help his father erect and prepare a home for the family. He could not leave the old homestead, where death had severed the tender ties of motherhood and sisterhood, until he had visited their graves and paid his last tribute of affection, and renew his vows of love and devotion to her lessons of wisdom and to her hallowed memory.

Preparations for the removal having been completed, the Lincoln family started on their tedious and difficult journey with two ox-teams. The Spring rains had filled the rivers and small streams, and with difficulty through the rich, deep soil, the ox-teams drew the wagons loaded with the entire personal effects of the emigrants. One of the teams was driven by Abraham. After a journey of two hundred miles, which was made in fifteen days, the tired emigrants entered Macon county, Illinois, and there, with the almost boundless, fertile prairies on the right and magnificent forests on the left, the weary emigrants rested.

A few days spent in examining and exploring the surrounding country, a selection was made by the father of three hundred and twenty acres of prairie and timbered land, ten miles west of Decatur, the county seat of Macon county.

Abraham, now twenty-one years of age, with his accustomed goodness and liberality, would not leave the home of his childhood and sever the near family relations until he had assisted his father in making some improvements on the new homestead for the comfort and necessities of the family. The first work was the erection of a dwelling. A hewn log cabin of suitable dimensions was soon erected, covered with shakes; the doors and windows

were made of hewn puncheons, and a smoke-house and stable were added. Abraham continued his work, and assisted in splitting rails and fencing ten acres, and then plowing the land inclosed and planting the same with corn.

Abraham now realized that his filial duties had been performed. For thirteen years in Indiana had he discharged his duties as became a loyal member of the household. On his father's farm he had been an efficient and faithful helpmate, and an affectionate and obedient son, and in the intervals of labor and toil had pursued his studies and obtained the rudiments of a common education. By his deportment and behavior he gained and secured the good will of all with whom he had associated.

While yet in childhood, he had, by circumstances which seemed to be guided by an overruling Providence, been borne away from a land and surroundings cursed by slavery. He had now become a citizen of a free State, where free labor was honored and rewarded. Simple in life and manners, knowing nothing of form and ceremony, and caring less, he had grown up in fellowship with the people and in companionship with nature in all its grandeur and magnificence.

We have seen how his childhood and boyhood indicated the growth and issue of a beneficent and useful manhood, and still may we continue to delineate the directing hand of an overruling Providence in his further advancement, preparing him for duties and responsibilities grand and beneficent in their results, successful, noble and humane in their execution.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY MANHOOD.

In the preceding chapters we have briefly noted the childhood and boyhood days of Abraham Lincoln, and delineated to some extent the affectionate teachings and wise counsels of a devoted Christian mother, and the events and influences which moulded his character and the reception of those lasting and salutary impressions which had prepared him for a noble and useful maturity.

And now, at the age of twenty-one, as he stands upon his father's threshold and looks out upon the world on which he is about to enter and take upon himself the duties and burdens of life, are his prospects brilliant, and is the imagination buoyant and hopeful in anticipations for the future? We think otherwise. No influential friends now stood by his side to give him aid or counsel; he was without money or income; he was alone in poverty and in obscurity, and yet he was not despondent. Hope stood by his side. He was ambitious, and felt and determined that by his own earnest efforts and industry he could and would succeed.

Guided by the precepts implanted and the noble impulses which glowed in his heart, and by the love of that which was good and true, he was led by a generous nature, and the lessons of self-reliance to the acquisition of a practical education and to the unfolding of all those kind and beneficent principles that were maturing within him.

During the Summer, after leaving home, he was employed by the farmers in the neighborhood, and in the following Winter he was engaged in splitting rails. Those rails afterward obtained a National reputation, of which mention will be made in a succeeding chapter. While thus engaged Abraham was striving to obtain more lucrative and constant employment. This soon came from a direction not anticipated.

Early in the Spring of 1831, Denton Offutt, a trader from Kentucky, came to Sangamon county for the purpose of purchasing produce for shipment to New Orleans. For the transportation of the same he engaged in the building of two flat boats on the Sangamon river, near Springfield. Abraham, hearing of the enterprise, thought there was an opportunity for employment, and he at once resolved to embrace this timely offering and leave Macon county. He made his way forty miles to the place where the boats were being built, and presenting himself to Mr. Offutt, he said: "My name is Lincoln. I am seeking employment. I have had some experience in boating and boat building, and if you are in want of hands I think I can give you satisfaction." The appearance of Lincoln, his hands and face bronzed by the sun and labor on the farm, and his genial and manly address, were to Mr. Offutt sufficient recommendations, and he was employed without delay. During the building of the boats, Mr. Offutt formed so favorable an opinion of Abraham's qualifications, his ability, industry and integrity that he gave him charge of the two boats and the supervision of the men employed during the voyage down the Sangamon, Illinois and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. Mr. Offutt, while traveling over the country for the purpose of purchasing produce for the loading of his boats, selected a location for business and trade at New Salem, on the Sangamon river, eighteen miles north of Springfield, and made his arrangements, on the sale of his produce, to return to that place with a stock of general merchandise. In due time the boats were finished and loaded, and Lincoln (as he was called) as captain in charge, cast off their fastenings and they floated away on their voyage to New Orleans, where in due time they arrived in safety, Mr. Offutt having preceded them by steamer.

This voyage of Lincoln to New Orleans, in connection with a similar one made three years previous from Indiana, gave thought and reflection, and laid the superstructure of those principles of anti-slavery and free labor which in later years became the ruling policy and aim of his political life. It was during those voyages, which gave daily opportunities for observation and consideration, that Lincoln saw slavery in all its phases and effects at the different plantations at which they stopped to trade and barter, at the numerous towns and villages on the river, and in New Orleans at the auction marts, where daily human beings were offered for sale to the highest bidder, where the tender relations of husband and wife, parents and child were severed never to be reunited. He saw the lordly planter, the pompous overseer, as well as the poor white man and his family, ostracized by caste under that regime, bound in fetters by the condition of society as strong in many phases as the enslaved around them.

This system of African slavery, so repulsive to his feelings and inconsistent with his principles and early teachings, he considered in all its different aspects and influences on the community and society, and his observations stimulated thought and reflection which gave birth to those principles of free soil and free labor and dedicated a life to freedom and to the immutable principles of justice and humanity. That Providence which seems "to shape our ends, rough hew them as we may," thus brought Lincoln into connection with slavery, and here was the inception, the initial point, in his political life. The culture and early teachings which he had received produced simplicity and charity, and with him the cry of oppression and suffering found a place in his heart and made lasting and salutary impressions which will be more plainly and prominently seen and noted, as his life became more conspicuous and his labors more effectual in the conflict for the right in later years.

Soon after the arrival of the boats at New Orleans the cargoes and boats were sold and a stock of general merchandise was purchased, with which Offutt and Lincoln returned to New Salem. A storehouse built of hewn logs, 16 by 36 feet, with cellar, was rented and the goods displayed for sale, and Lincoln was retained in Offutt's employ as chief clerk, at a salary of \$25 per month and board; and the writer of these memoirs, who lived near the village and who had not attained his majority, was employed as assistant at a salary of \$15 per month.

Here the writer first met Lincoln and here during a period of fifteen months daily intercourse and business relations an intimate friendship and attachment was formed which remained constant and unbroken during Mr. Lincoln's life.

Mr. Offutt, in connection with his store, rented a saw and flouring mill located on the Sangamon river, in the immediate vicinity of the store. These mills, being the only ones within an area of twenty miles, brought much custom and trade to the store, and being under the supervision of the clerks they added much to their labors and duties.

New Salem at this time was considered a town of considerable importance. Two stores, a hotel, a saloon, a blacksmith shop, a saw and flouring mill, with some fifteen residences, all log cabins, with as many families, constituted the town then in its hight of prosperity, in being the second town in the county in population and importance, and the focus of a large trade. The business in the store being mostly with country traders, was transacted between the hours of 9 A. M. and 3 P. M., giving several hours in the day in which one of the clerks could perform all the duties required in the store. It was on those occasions that Lincoln frequently would, for an hour at the close of the day, engage in athletic sports, such as wrestling, jumping, pitching quoits or

heavy weights and similar exercises, diversions peculiar to and common to that day and age. The store was usually closed at 7 P. M., when occasionally an evening would be spent with some family or young people in the village, and those occasional visits or calls were seasons of mutual pleasure and gratification. Lincoln's humorous fund of anecdotes and stories made him a welcome visitor at all times. The most of the evenings, however, after closing the store, were, from 8 to 11 o'clock, employed by Lincoln in reading and study; a short time then was spent in reviewing the reading of the evening, and then blankets were spread upon the counter and the inmates retired to rest on their hard couch, which prepared them for the labors and duties of the coming day.

Lincoln at this time and thus early had his thoughts and purposes fixed on the study of law, and his course of reading and study tended in that direction. Soon after he entered the store he procured Murray's Grammar, and from a Justice of the place he borrowed Blackstone's Commentaries. He devoted his leisure time to the study of those two books, occasionally reading the histories of the United States, England, Rome and Greece. In his small collection of books he had secured the poetical works of Cowper, Gray and Burns.

The writer has pleasant memories of the days and nights spent with Lincoln in the log store. Our relations at that time were in some respects similar. Both at that time had recently left our parental homes to enter upon the duties and responsibilities of life, both had mourned the loss of mothers in our earlier years, and both had been in a measure reared in the new and sparsely populated Western States. Those relations, and Lincoln's studious habits, which made the store his abiding place, drew closer the ties of friendship and attachment from those considerations. Many were the evenings in which our thoughts and conversation turned to our boyhood days, and to a recital of the incidents and experience of our childhood. Those reminiscences of Lincoln, the recital of his youthful experience, his pleasures mingled with his hardships, the filial devotion exhibited, and his love and tenderness for the memory of his mother and sister, are treasured up as pleasant memories.

The pleasant companionship of Lincoln, his affable, genial, social bearing towards and with all persons of whatever condition of life at this period of his early history, found a generous return in confidence and respect which was manifested towards him by his neighbors and fellow-citizens on every fitting occasion. Lincoln made his home with the family of John Cameron, the owner of the mills rented by Offutt. He was a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The family, father, mother, son and two daughters, who had arrived at adult years, were exemplary Christians. Mrs. Cameron was an

excellent woman whose hallowed influences reached out beyond the family circle, and her motherly kindness and counsels to Lincoln reminded him of the advice and instructions of a dear departed mother, which were guiding him in the battle of life and leading him on and upward to a noble, useful life.

The facilities and sources of obtaining information and mental improvement at that period, in the new and sparsely populated settlements of the then far West, were few and limited. Libraries, lyceums and public reading rooms were even in the largest towns not yet established, but few newspapers and periodicals were then published, and book stores were rare and limited in their quantity and variety. The St. Louis "Republican" and Louisville "Journal," weeklies, were then the leading newspapers published in the West, and their weekly visit to Lincoln were of special interest. The latter was his favorite, as he was in accord with its politics and had a special relish for its sparkling wit and humor.

During the Winter that Lincoln was employed in the store, debating clubs were occasionally held in an unoccupied store-room in the village, which he frequently attended, and in which he made his first essay in speech making. These discussions, primitive and simple in their character, in which Lincoln participated, exhibited the germ of those logical and argumentative powers of reasoning for which he was distinguished in his subsequent life. His conversational and mental powers already indicated that peculiarity of mind and thought which was in after life so beautifully illustrated in his genial good nature and kind words, which are the precursor of good and noble deeds. His courteous, pleasant deportment, his ready wit and humorous stories, made him a favorite with all, and it was a pleasure which he enjoyed, to observe the respect and esteem in which he was held by those with whom he was daily forming acquaintance. He had already desires for public recognition, and aspirations for political distinction, and he also realized that he had difficulties and obstacles to overcome in that direction. With a limited education, without means and influential friends to assist him, he was impressed with the reality that, in his case, the eminence of popularity and fame must be reached by his own efforts, industry and perseverance; and with a laudable ambition he had the confidence in his resources and abilities that if properly directed he would succeed. Lincoln's studious habits and his close attention to his books and to all the appliances within his reach, for advancement, tended to bring him into notice and attraction, and many were the favorable comments relative to his present efforts and future success. Mr. Offutt, the proprietor of the store, in the fervor of his admiration for Lincoln's advancement and progress, said: "That for Lincoln's opportunities he has no superior in the United States." The Governor of Indiana, after

meeting and conversing with Lincoln, said to a friend: "That young man has talent enough in him to make a President." Similar encomiums were frequently made by those who were familiar with and proper judges of Lincoln's habits and nobility of character. These expressions of admiration, by friends, of his labors and efforts for success, and in winning and securing the esteem and confidence of the people, which came to his knowledge and notice, strengthened his purposes and gave him zeal and encouragement to overcome obstacles and master emergencies. Mr. Offutt continued his business some twelve months at New Salem, under the supervision of Lincoln. The enterprise in connection with the mills not proving as remunerative as he expected, he closed his business at that place and left for other fields of speculation.

About the time that Offutt closed his business in New Salem some parties became interested in steamboating, for the purpose of running up the Sangamon river to a point on the river six miles west of Springfield, the county seat, and thirty miles above New Salem, believing that the river could be navigated by steamer several months in the year. Lincoln and the writer now being out of employment, and believing that New Salem offered good facilities for a shipping point, in connection with the steamboat enterprise, purchased a large log building at this point on the river and made preparation before the arrival of the steamer for a storage, forwarding and commission business. As was anticipated, in due time the steamer arrived freighted with flour, groceries and merchandise for traders in the interior. The arrival of the steamer was an event of great interest to the citizens of the village and adjacent country, who had assembled in large numbers on the bank of the river to witness the success of an enterprise which was of importance to the town and county. The boat landed a part of her cargo at the warehouse and proceeded up the river to its point of destination, where it arrived in safety. The success of the enterprise now seemed assured. The return of the steamer, however, was now looked for with much interest and solicitude. If the return should be successful the enterprise would have succeeded as desired. On the fourth day the steamer made its appearance on its return in a ruinous condition. Difficulties in descending the river had been encountered which had not been anticipated and which could not be avoided or overcome; the river was found to be rapid, narrow and crooked and difficult of navigation down stream by steamboats. The steamer was continually running into the banks of the river and into the tops of trees that grew on and over the banks of the river, and the result was that the cabin and upper parts of the boat were badly broken and injured. From New Salem the steamer floated down the river, with long oars on stern and bow to keep her as near as possible in the middle of the river. After several

days, with difficulty the steamer reached Beardstown, badly injured, and the enterprise was abandoned. The failure of the steamboat undertaking carried with it the warehouse enterprise of Lincoln and the writer of these memoirs, and with this failure was closed the daily business relations for fifteen months, of Lincoln and the writer. The very pleasant, friendly and intimate fellowship which had grown up during that period continued during the life of Lincoln and was most kindly and fully manifested towards the writer during the period of President Lincoln's administration. The failure of the warehouse enterprise left Lincoln at liberty to respond to the call of his fellow-citizens, which soon came, calling him to a different vocation, which position he accepted and duly honored.

The past fifteen months of Lincoln's history may not appear to the casual observer as a period of remarkable or of special interest, but it was otherwise. He had laid the foundation of his future life. He had made the first advance, the first step on that long and toilsome road that led him onward and upward to that summit of honor and renown which he so honorably attained. It was at this time he took his stand for freedom, for the oppressed of every clime and color, for our soil to be ever dedicated to freedom and to the principles of home protection as advocated by the great American statesman, Henry Clay. He had chosen the profession of law. He had read and studied much and had made himself acquainted with the history of his country and the position and standing of the statesmen and politicians of the day, and was preparing himself for any step in advance that might offer. His employment had given him opportunities to make numerous, and to him, valuable acquaintances, which became warm and useful friends, whose respect and esteem he ever afterwards enjoyed.

CHAPTER IV.

OUTLINE OF PRINCIPLES AND CHARACTER.

Mr. Lincoln, in the days of his prosperity and popularity, often referred to his advent into New Salem and his employment as clerk in Offutt's store as the period in which was laid the foundation of his success in after life. He came there an entire stranger, without means or influential friends, but he came with a disposition for usefulness and faithfulness for his employer, with a heart noble and true and with a determination to improve all opportunities for advancement and progress. The employment seemed favorable and timely. He would necessarily form an extensive acquaintance, and his opportunity for application to study and acquiring knowledge and information was favorable. While he was attentive to business and to all the interests of his employer, he gave his leisure hours to study and to the acquisition of useful information. In studying Murray's Grammar he often remarked, "that it was very dry reading, but that he would master the general principles," which he did; but his correct mastery of the language was acquired more from reading and writing than from study. From Blackstone's Commentaries he acquired those moral, legal and political principles that gave bias to his character and form to his study. The selection of books for reading and study indicated a mind and judgment rarely found in one of his age and attainments. It was usual for him, after reading and studying Murray or Blackstone for two or three hours, to take up Burns' poems, which he read much and admired greatly. He read with that hilarity which usually was so peculiar to him, some of the most humorous productions of that versatile poet, his favorite selections being Tom O'Shanter, Address to the Dial, Highland Mary, Bonny Jeane and Dr. Hornbook. Having a very retentive memory he soon became familiar with these poems and many others; and his frequent quotations from them indicated the humorous inclination of his mind in his early life. There were times, however, when his countenance and actions indicated more serious thoughts, and memory was busy with incidents of his boyhood days. He

then would read the *Cotter's Saturday Night*, or *Grey's Elegy*, or one of *Cowper's* poems. The reading of the poets was subordinate to his general studies. He often said that he only read them as a relish or dessert after taking the more solid and substantial food. At a more advanced period, when he became engaged in his law studies, those works were laid aside; but their contents were retained in his memory, and he often made quotations from them when an occasion offered.

His close application to his books, his studious habits, his desire and efforts to obtain information relative to the character and principles of the statesmen and politicians of the country and age, brought him in that respect into marked distinction and contrast with the people, and he was looked upon at that time as one who would in the near future make himself distinguished in the history of the State.

The question has often been asked, and perhaps to some never satisfactorily answered, what were Lincoln's Christian principles and belief in his early life? We are prepared to say that at no period of Lincoln's life did he ever doubt the authenticity, truth and inspiration of the Holy Bible. Its sacred truths, which were implanted in his heart by a fond Christian mother, lost none of their worth or value to him in his youth or mature years. Its moral precepts were the rule of his conduct, which his life exhibited in Christian acts and deeds.

Lincoln was naturally secretive and taciturn in all matters in which the public were not particularly interested, and this peculiarity in regard to his Christian experience, which was passive, tended to silence and reserve on that subject. He said on one occasion, "When any church will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualification for membership, the Savior's condensed statement of the substance of both law and gospel: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church I will join with all my heart and all my soul."

In a preceding chapter reference was made to Lincoln's occasionally attending a debating club in New Salem. On one occasion a subject was brought forward for debate in which he took part, which is worthy of note here, as the question involved unfolded the great and ruling principles of Lincoln's political life. The question for debate was: "Are the principles and policy of African slavery so unjust, and the evils thereof of such magnitude as to make the colonization and emancipation of the enslaved colored race in the United States necessary and desirable for the welfare of the American people?" The subject was suggested by Lincoln, and as it was known that he would take part in the debate a large number were in attendance, both men and women, from the town and country. The occasion

called out the best talent, ministers, doctors and school teachers taking part in the debate. Lincoln assumed the affirmative of the question. We can only note some of the principal points in his argument. He first spoke of the natural rights of all men—"Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Those rights were all coequal and inalienable, and no argument or sophistry could establish or prove the right or justice of African slavery. "But," said Lincoln, "there is a national and personal view to take of this question. The object and aim of our Government is and should be to elevate and dignify free labor, to make the laboring man a peer of any employed in the different avocations and pursuits of life. We see and know that the effects and results of slavery are to degrade labor and to make it despicable and to bring it into contempt. Those of us who came from the slave States know from observation and experience that the condition of the poor white man there is a hopeless one, and that by the side of slavery, which brands labor with degradation and disgrace, the condition of the poor white laborer and his family is without hope in the present as well as for the future. Society there takes the form of an aristocracy instead of an equality, and caste, which is inimical to our republican institutions, becomes a fixed and deleterious principle in our body politic. Nor is this all. Emigration *from* rather than *to* the slave States is the consequence, an absence of enterprise and skill in the manufacturing and mechanical arts is everywhere apparent, and the avenues of distinction, honor and preferment are closed except to the few, and this is the state and condition of society in the slave States which is thus fostered and created. Nor are these the worst and saddest features of the direful incubus resting upon the glory and prosperity of our country. Already we see and hear premonitions of danger to our nation and our free institutions. A spirit of opposition to slavery is abroad in the free States and is growing, and it requires no prophet to tell the result. This much we may say here, that it portends the creation of a state of feeling between the free and the slave States which is fearful to contemplate, and which bodes no good to our country and to our free institutions. If we remove this disturbing element by colonization and emancipation, the evils I have stated will vanish and pass away; our Union will continue firm and united and our unsettled vast public domain will become the homes of a free, happy and prosperous people."

The writer has here briefly given an outline of Lincoln's argument on that occasion. They are recollections of his notes written in the store evenings previous to their delivery.

Thus early in his life, before political influences or prospect of place or power had warped his judgment or corrupted his principles, he clearly enunciated the great and fundamental truths which he had resolved to support

and maintain in his future life. This debate, and other questions in which Lincoln occasionally took a part in the debating club, gave him notoriety and distinction with the public and prepared the way for an early recognition of his abilities and principles.

Lincoln's mode of address on any subject which he desired to enforce or illustrate was usually of a plain and unimpassioned character. He reasoned by comparison and analogy and made his points by apt illustrations and with that sincerity and earnestness of manner which usually carried conviction to the minds of his hearers. A current of humor, which was a peculiar characteristic of the man, was often interwoven in his conversation and illustrations of any subject, and this became more noted in his political speeches and addresses later in his life.

One of the most pleasant and amiable traits of Lincoln's character was his modest estimate of his own powers and acquisitions, and this was marked in his early life. There was an entire absence of self-importance and conceit, while truthfulness and the simplicity of childhood were the germs of that power which gave him success and popularity, and which has no precedent or similitude in the history of the distinguished men of our country.

Athletic and active, Lincoln occasionally, as opportunity offered and business and study would permit, joined in the field and out-door sports of which young men are fond. He participated in these pastimes with zest and pleasure, and on those occasions his presence was always welcomed with pleasure by his associates, and in the adjustment of all questions or disputes arising in their sports or plays, Lincoln was usually selected as umpire, and his rulings were given so humorously and kindly that they seldom failed to give satisfaction to all. These amusements, however, were only occasionally indulged in by Lincoln. They were never allowed to interfere with his duties or studies. He had early resolved that his leisure hours must be chiefly devoted to the acquirement of practical knowledge and useful information. Naturally of a jovial and merry temperament in his youth, it was remarkable that he only, on special occasions, spent any evenings in social amusements or entertainments, and in this resolution he was immovable, and no prospect or promise of pleasure could draw him from the hours devoted to his books and the course and means he had adopted to obtain practical and useful knowledge. With such interest and devotion did he employ his time in study and manual labor, denying himself of those pleasures and amusements that young men usually consider necessary and essential, that he could truly have said with one of the ancient sages, "What others give to public shows and entertainments, to festivities and amusements, nay, even to mental and bodily rest, I give to study and philosophy." His physical labors were preparing him for that mental and

corporal endurance which the severe and important toil that his subsequent life demanded, and his reading and studies were preparing his mind and forming his principles for the great work which was in the unseen future before him.

From the life of Washington and the teachings of the Fathers of the Republic he imbibed those immortal principles which fired his heart to an honorable emulation and a true patriotism until he had conceived and obtained that spirit which constituted him a true leader and wise counselor. The life of the great commoner and statesman, Henry Clay, and his speeches in Congress, were read and admired by Lincoln, and from the teachings of that eminent statesman he received his first political lessons, and his political principles he early espoused and firmly adhered to during his life. The science of government and train of thought which he received from that distinguished civilian closely identified him with the interest and heart of the common people, and as one of them, he understood their wants and feelings, and early in life he formed and cherished those resolves and principles which had for their object and aim the enfranchisement of the oppressed, the elevation of free labor and toil and the amelioration of the race.

Thus, day by day, amidst the sturdy pioneers of the great West, was he preparing and putting on the armor, offensive and defensive, which coming events rendered appropriate and necessary. One has said, "Lap of luxury and hours of ease send not forth the arms that move the world; he who is drawn aloft by the force of circumstances becomes the noblest soul and the mightiest power." The teachings and surroundings of his early life, with its varied struggles, had made him one of the laboring classes, and no elevation in society or office diminished his respect or severed his connection with the men of labor and toil. Closely identified with the common people, he fully realized the principle which through his life he ever maintained, that in our Republican Government, where the people are the sovereigns, labor should be honored and receive its appropriate reward. With the yeomanry of the Prairie State, already the great work of Lincoln's life had begun. The simple debate in the debating club, in the log store in New Salem, indicated the principles and sentiments which, in their fruition, have made his name immortal, and his country, in prosperity and grandeur, the most sublime and exalted among the nations of the earth.

In closing this chapter we may note some characteristics of Lincoln which were apparent only to his most intimate friends. He was ambitious in the fullest sense of the word. He desired the respect, the confidence and approbation of his fellow citizens. He desired peace, power and preferment above

his fellows, and for this he had labored, struggled, and had succeeded. In this he was ambitious, but in all this he sought to promote the interests and welfare of the people, to secure their respect and regard, and their approval and commendation of the principles and policy he advocated and entertained. He was very secretive, cautious and reserved in communicating his desires, plans and expectations to any one. He seldom disclosed his political schemes or purposes to his most intimate friends—never until in his own mind he had matured his plans and resolved on their execution. To his fellow citizens he did not appear as a politician and schemer; still he was wonderfully full of politics and policy. To the close observer and student of his administration there will be found more policy in it than in any preceding administration in our country's history. We may give a notable incident illustrating this secretive characteristic of Lincoln, which occurred during his remarkable contest with Douglas. During their celebrated debates Lincoln had prepared some interrogatories which he proposed to present to Douglas. His friends, on their examination of them, remonstrated. They said: "If you put that question to him he will perceive that an answer giving practical force and effect to the Dred Scott decision in the Territories inevitably loses him the battle, and he will therefore reply by offering the decision as an abstract principle, denying its practical application." Lincoln replied: "If he does that he never can be President." His friends replied: "That is not your lookout. You are after the Senatorship." Lincoln said: "No, gentlemen, I am killing larger game. The battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

This answer startled his friends, as it was the first intimation they had that he had thoughts and aspirations for the Presidency.

The answer of Douglas was as he probably anticipated, and the results that followed were equal to his most ardent and sanguine expectations.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY MILITARY RECORD—BLACK HAWK WAR.

In 1832 Black Hawk, Chief of the Sacs and Foxes, with his warriors, in violation of the treaty made with him at Rock Island, in 1831, returned from the Territory of Iowa to Illinois, on Rock river, causing much alarm, and committed many depredations on the inhabitants. The Governor of Illinois called for volunteers to act in concert with the regular troops, to repel the invasion. Lincoln, being now out of employment, was one of the first to enlist in a company that was being raised at New Salem. As soon as the company was filled an election for officers was ordered and held, and Lincoln was elected Captain of the company, without opposition. The volunteers were mounted and were called out for sixty days, and Lincoln, with his company, was ordered to join the battalion to which it was attached, at Beardstown, from which point they marched to Rock river, to join the main army, near Rock Island. On arriving at this point the volunteers, not waiting for the regular troops, continued their march up Rock river, forty miles, to Dixon's Ferry. They were joined here by two battalions of mounted volunteers from Peoria, who had gone into camp the evening previous on Sycamore creek, twenty miles distant, and while in camp they were surprised and attacked by Black Hawk and his band, and driven from their camp, with the loss of eleven men. This rout is known in history as Stillman's defeat. The attack was made between sunset and dark, and was a complete surprise. The volunteers, having pitched their camp for the night, were in the act of staking out their horses, and the cooks were preparing supper, when the Indians came upon them with their yells and war whoops. The volunteers took no method in the order of their going—many on horseback without saddles, others on foot—all in disorder and panic stricken. Many continued their retreat until they reached the main camp, twenty miles distant. A council of war was immediately held, and General Whitesides, the chief in command of the volunteers, ordered an immediate march to the battle ground, but the savages, anticipating the movement, had left the field,

laden with the spoils of victory, after having enjoyed a hearty supper. The volunteers of the State went into camp near the battlefield, where they remained several days, awaiting the arrival of the regular troops. In the sports and diversions of the camp, the New Salem company soon became the most noted for its athletic amusements, and Captain Lincoln as the best story teller and relater of anecdotes which the corps produced, and his headquarters soon became famous for its jollity and genial companionship.

In a few days the regular troops arrived and joined the volunteers, when efforts were made to overtake the Indians, but without success. They broke up into different bands, one of which made an attack on a settlement near Ottawa, killing fifteen persons and taking captive two young women. Before the Indians could be found or reached the term of service of the volunteers expired and they were discharged, and many returned home. Others remained under a new call. With these was Captain Lincoln, who had volunteered for the war, and proposed to remain in the service until the Indians were subdued. A month of marching and pursuit followed, with no decisive results. Some fighting occurred near Galena and at Burr Oak Grove, but the Indians made good their retreat. The Indians at last were overtaken on the Wisconsin river by a portion of the forces under General Henry, and routed, with a loss of sixty-eight killed and a large number wounded; and finally, as the main body of the Indians had reached the Mississippi river and were in the act of crossing, they were again overtaken by the troops and the battle of Bad Axe occurred, which resulted in the utter defeat of the Indians, and the capture of Black Hawk and the most of his warriors.

While the Blackhawk war was barren of any remarkable incidents, or the establishment of any distinguished military reputations, we may record one fact, that two of the homeliest and truest men engaged in it became afterwards commanders in chief of the armies of the Union, and Presidents of the United States, viz: (Then Colonel) Zachary Taylor and Captain Abraham Lincoln.

During this campaign Lincoln made many valuable acquaintances and friends; one among the number was John T. Stuart, Major of the Spy Battalion, afterwards member of Congress. He bore testimony to the great popularity of Lincoln with the soldiers, because of his care of his men, of his good nature and his ability to tell more stories and better ones than any man in the battalion. One who served under him in the New Salem company stated that he was a faithful officer, personally interested in the welfare of his men, prompt in the discharge of his duties; and this was the unanimous testimony of the members of his company.

Lincoln returned from his military campaign to New Salem ten days before the election of members of the Legislature of the State, and was at once requested to allow his name to be placed on the Whig ticket as a candidate for the Sangamon District. He was then twenty-three years of age. The nomination was a surprise to him, and his political principles did not promise success in the county, largely Democratic at that time. The canvass, however, showed his popularity in his own township. He received 277 votes out of 284, polled a vote unprecedented in the history of politics, and although he was defeated in the District it was the only occasion in which he ever failed in a popular election.

Lincoln was now out of employment, but he could not remain idle. A merchant of New Salem, wishing to retire from business, offered his stock of goods to Lincoln on credit. The offer was accepted and the goods purchased, and Lincoln taking a partner, the business was conducted under the firm of Lincoln & Berry. The enterprise proved a failure; the goods were old and unsalable. Berry, Lincoln's partner, was wild and dissipated in his habits, and at the end of twelve months the partnership was dissolved, and Lincoln retired from the business with some valuable experience and a debt which he said afterwards was as bad as the "national debt," as it took him several years to liquidate it, which he did to the utmost farthing. While engaged in merchandising he was appointed by President Jackson Postmaster at New Salem, an office of no pecuniary value. It was the first civil office he held, and one that gave him much pleasure, from the opportunity it allowed him of reading the papers and periodicals taken at the office. The appointment was too trivial to be considered of any political importance. He received it because of his popularity and his ability to make out the official returns.

Lincoln had now, by experience, ascertained that he could not succeed as a merchant. His heart was too full of the milk of human kindness to refuse credit, even to those that he had reason to believe would never be able to pay. He had no tact for the collection of store bills, and to compel the payment from his friends and neighbors by law—the thought for a moment could not be entertained. The business of merchant not proving a success, and the Postoffice yielding no revenue, some other employment became necessary. The daily wants, food and raiment, must be supplied and that by his own labor and daily toil. The bread of idleness Lincoln had never eaten, and he fully recognized the Divine injunction, "that by the sweat of his brow his bread must be obtained." In looking for employment it came from a quarter wholly unexpected.

John Calhoun, afterwards of Leocompton notoriety, was at that time Surveyor of Sangamon county, which embraced the territory now included

in four counties. The large immigration to the State at that time and the daily location of public lands increased largely the labors and duties in the Surveyor's office, and the Surveyor, in looking for assistance, employed Lincoln as a deputy, and gave him the territory now embraced in the county of Mernard, for his field of operations.

This appointment found Lincoln unprepared for the work. He had no knowledge of surveying, and was but little acquainted with the science upon which it was based. He procured the proper books and engaged with earnestness to prepare himself in the shortest possible time for the work on which he was about to enter. In a short time he made himself acquainted with the rudiments of the profession and he then purchased a compass and chain and entered upon his work. His employment procured him food and raiment, and what to him seemed more desirable, books; for during the period he was engaged in this work he was a constant student, and was preparing himself by obtaining knowledge and information for other fields of labor. He continued in this employment with success and with such correctness that the accuracy of his work and surveys has never been called in question, and he only relinquished his work for the time being, as the people were about to call him to a more dignified and exalted station.

Three years had now passed since Lincoln had left the enjoyments and endearments of the parental home, for life's duties and responsibilities. During that period he had discharged the duties of flat-boat captain, merchant's clerk, Captain of Volunteers, Postmaster and surveyor, with fidelity and ability, with credit to himself and satisfaction to his employers, and had gained the respect and esteem of all with whom he had become acquainted.

A writer has well said: "No man has ever lived who was more a self-made man than Abraham Lincoln." The same writer says: "Not a circumstance of his life favored the development which he reached." This latter statement is hardly correct. Indeed, it may be stated that the circumstances and surroundings which had attended him for the past three years were favorable to his aspirations, his hopes and efforts, and to his success in laying broad and solid the foundations of his future attainments and developments as a great and good man. His voyages on the flat-boats to New Orleans, through the slave States, gave him a knowledge and insight into the effects and influences of slavery which he could not have obtained by reading or otherwise, and quick to see and discern the evils and results flowing from that servile institution, thus early in his mind were fixed the great injustice and wrongs of slavery, and broad and deep were laid those true principles of right and justice which became the prominent features of his future political life. His official connection with the Black Hawk war brought him in contact

with, and made him acquainted with many prominent citizens, associated with the volunteers from different parts of the State, and those of his command, gave him notoriety and prominence, which follows favorably all popular military officers. His occupations as clerk, merchant, Postmaster and surveyor, gave him access to the people, and a large and extensive acquaintance in the county in which he resided. Those circumstances, improved as they were, certainly favored his success in after life.

The immigration to Illinois during this period of Lincoln's life was unprecedented in the history of the country. Pioneers from the sunny South, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and the Middle and Eastern States, were sending in great numbers brave men and women to settle the broad and fertile plains of the Prairie State. Hardy sons of toil, with means limited, but buoyant with hope and expectations for the future, with sterling hearts of integrity filled with kindness and hospitality to all.

It was a State wonderful in progress, a community grand in its conceptions for the future, and successful in its labors and aspirations for pre-eminence; a field of promise in which Lincoln, with his labors, desires and hopes, might well strive for success. He was poor, and his necessities compelled him to labor for his daily bread, among those who considered labor not derogatory nor detrimental to moral worth and to aspirations for a higher and more perfect character. His personal appearance, rough and homely, brought in contact with the refined and cultivated, possibly would not have been appreciated or commanded their respect and regard. He had no teachers, few books and no learned and intellectual companions, and it would not have been well had it been otherwise. From the character of his reading and studies we can see that he was fully qualified to direct and choose his plans and purposes for the future. His temperament was hopeful, not buoyant. Faith in himself was sufficient to form purposes, and when formed to carry them to their final consummation. He was firm and positive in his convictions of right, and purposes were not made without study and investigation; but when matured, no dazzling prospect of place or preferment moved him from what he believed to be the right.

That at this time he had political aspirations there can be no doubt. That he had honorable and strong desires for popularity and place in his growing State is true; and knowing this we can realize to some extent how strong were those convictions of right and principle. In a State then largely Democratic, he took his stand with the minority and steadily adhered to those principles during his entire life. He did so, believing that those principles were founded on right and justice, and that in the future they would prevail—and the result of his political life proved the correctness and wisdom of his choice.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTERISTICS.

The attainments of Lincoln at this early age, and his persistent, patient labors for success indicated characteristics marked and peculiar. His habits of study, his selection of books for study, and his efforts and method to obtain knowledge and information of the past and present history of his country and of the prominent men of the age, were often subjects of remark by his intimate friends. Gifted with a memory remarkable, elastic and retentive, valuable information and thoughts were treasured up to be used as opportunity and occasion might require. His method of investigating all questions of a public or political character, was to give both sides a thorough and critical examination and then form his opinions and conclusions.

Wanting in those personal attractions which are the envy of every circle, still his pleasant ways, his endearing good nature, his way of telling stories and anecdotes, gave him access to all; and whether with the learned or unlearned, the refined or unrefined, he was always welcomed as one that made the company or circle complete, and in all places and at all times he found men and women to love and respect him. This popularity and the public favor he had attained, were the results of the outward manifestations of the purity of his life and the goodness of his heart.

Lincoln, at this period of his life, was not a religious man. He was not a member of any church, nor did he subscribe to any religious creed, but deep in his heart and nature was implanted a religious structure which was truly perfect. He had read and studied the Bible much, in his childhood and youth. He believed in God, and that His moral and natural laws directed and controlled the affairs of men and nations. He believed that he and all created beings were under His guidance and control. He believed in the success and final triumph of the right through the providence of God. He recognized his accountability to his Creator, and sacred relations between his God and himself in all the purposes of his life. The lessons of piety and trust in the Great Author of his being, early implanted by a Christian mother,

ran through and softened all the experiences of his after life. The great command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," was to him a daily sense of duty, and he made it a rule in his life "to do unto others as he would have them do unto him." It was this principle that governed his actions and produced the grand results of his life. He held in reverence the Christian religion, and men of earnest piety and true devotion were held by him in much respect and esteem. The name of his Creator was only mentioned with reverence; habits of dissipation he never acquired in any form; dissimulation and falsehood to him seemed abhorrent and were never employed. He was precisely what he appeared, awkward and original, social and genial. He had no desire for fine dress or apparel, no taste for show or display in any way or form; and it was that childlike simplicity, directness and truthfulness which he cherished in his manhood, which was the secret of his power and success in public life.

This narrative of Lincoln's studious habits and character, representing perfect manhood, is written by one who enjoyed his friendship throughout life and who reveres his memory. It is a mirror in which all may look with pleasure and profit, and one in which the young men of our country may see lessons of encouragement, with hopes of success if the example given are followed with industry and perseverance through life. It was said of Lincoln at that time, and said truly: "Lincoln has nothing except perseverance, popularity and plenty of friends." What could be more essential to success?

A friend of Lincoln, who was a student at the Jacksonville College, and whose home was near New Salem, during a vacation brought home with him Richard Yates and a number of other students, and as they all had heard of Lincoln they all went up to New Salem to see him. They found him at his usual occupation, when not otherwise engaged, reading. This time it was a newspaper, and he was laying on his back, outside the store, on the cellar door. Yates and Lincoln here first formed their acquaintance and were soon engaged in conversation. The friends listened to the speakers, never giving thought to the fact that one was to become the war Governor of Illinois and the other President of the United States.

Two years had now passed since Lincoln was appointed Deputy Surveyor, and since his failure at an election as a member of the Legislature. He had become, during this period, more extensively acquainted with the voters of his county, and had frequently addressed his fellow-citizens on the political topics of the day. His style of address was novel, impressive, forcible and popular with the people, and his future was held by the voters of his county to be one of promise.

In 1834 he was again nominated on the Whig ticket for the Legislature. He made an entire canvass of the county, which at that period embraced the

present counties of Sangamon, Mernard, Logan and Christian. Two Senators and seven members of the lower house, the entire Whig ticket, was elected Lincoln receiving the highest vote on the ticket. It was during this canvass that he became more intimately acquainted with John T. Stuart, a brother officer in the Black Hawk war, afterwards a member of Congress. Major Stuart had during the canvass become warmly attached to Lincoln and formed an exalted opinion of his abilities; and pleased with his purposes and determination to achieve success he advised him to pursue, by every means and effort, the study of law. Lincoln informed him that he had made choice of that profession, but for the want of funds and books he was not making the progress he desired. Major Stuart was at that time engaged in the profession of law in Springfield and had an extensive and lucrative practice. He at once offered to loan Lincoln all the law books he required for his studies, and he accepted the offer with pleasure.

The canvass in this election was warmly contested. The parties in the county were closely divided, and although the field was new to Lincoln, he entered into the canvass with ardor and zeal that promised success. It was during this canvass that those peculiar characteristics of Lincoln, sociability, hilarity and companionship, were the more fully exhibited in public, and which made him so popular with the people. In those early days in Illinois it was customary for candidates for public favor to travel through their districts and address their fellow citizens in public, and also to call at the homes and dwellings of their constituents. For this latter mode of canvass Lincoln was peculiarly gifted. Under all circumstances he made himself pleasant and agreeable with all persons, with the rich or poor, in the stately mansion or log cabin. With, or in the first, he was respectful, deferential and sociable; in the other he was affable, agreeable and simple. It was in the family circle, around the fireside, no matter how humble and lowly, that Lincoln felt at home. He entered into a conversation with the father and mother relative to their hopes and prospects in life, the schools, farm, crops, stock. These, and other farm and family topics, were so pleasantly canvassed that they were made to feel that they had met a friend—one near as a brother. Soon the children would claim his attention, and on his knee or around his person they would be listening to his stories, while the mother would hear with pleasure that they were fine, beautiful children; that Willie was the image of his father, and Sarah, the most beautiful one, looked like her mother, and that she reminded him of a dear sister, a playmate of his youthful days. The distribution of some candy and nuts completed the picture. Those tender and simple interviews of Lincoln with the families he met, came from the natural impulses of his heart, to create kind feelings and thoughts

in others, and receive corresponding pleasure in return. Lincoln's experience in his early life had taught him that in the family circle, around the hearth stone, were realized and enjoyed the hopes, the aspirations and pleasures of our better natures, and that where the friend, the neighbor, or even the stranger, enters therein and partakes of our cheer and hospitality, and enjoys and gives out of his own good nature, thoughts, sentiments and feelings, in unison with our own aspirations and hopes, we feel that we have indeed met a friend. Herein was Lincoln's *forte*—his great success in securing the respect, confidence and support of his fellow citizens at the polls. His success in this direction was an enigma to his fellow candidates. They could not understand how he, homely and unpretending, could so universally secure the respect and esteem of the women and children. Frequently Lincoln and one of his opponents in the canvass would meet and spend the night at the same farm house. Both were greeted with the hospitality then so proverbial in the Western States. While supper is preparing, instead of repairing to the house to discuss the politics of the day, Lincoln proposes a walk over the farm. The stock is seen, the crops examined, and in all Lincoln takes a pleasure, which he communicates to his host. Supper being served, the men repair to the veranda, where the topics of the day are discussed. Soon they are joined by the mother and children. Now is Lincoln's opportunity. He calls one of the children to him and relates some of the incidents of his boyhood days; if a boy, how, with his dogs, he used to hunt the raccoons and wild cats, and set his traps for the wild turkeys; if a girl, he relates how, with his sister, he often went with her to gather in the woods, the wild berries and flowers; and then, turning to the mother, he would relate the trials and hardships of a frontier life in Indiana, and speak of the love and affection of a dear, departed mother, and his fond recollections of her blessed memory. This adaptation of Lincoln's nature to obtain and secure the respect and esteem of all classes of men and women, was the secret of his popularity and success. It was not superficial or assumed, but it was the natural feelings and impulses of his heart. He loved the farm and the farmers, because on the farm he was raised. He loved the children because he was child-like in manner and feelings. He loved the mothers because he had in remembrance the love and affection of a mother, and still retained the hallowed influences and fondness for a mother's tender instruction and regard.

The canvass having closed, and the election having been held, Lincoln returned to his work of surveying. When the labors of the day were ended the study of his books was resumed. He was able now to procure the law books he required, and, in the interval from labor, he applied himself closely and diligently to his law studies. When the period arrived for the meeting

of the Legislature, Lincoln laid aside his compass and law books and walked one hundred miles to Vandalia, the capital of the State.

Lincoln was now twenty-five years of age. He, and J. K. Dubois, member from the same county, were the two youngest members of the House. He was assigned by the Speaker to the Committee on Public Expenditures and Accounts, and occasionally, during the session, took part in the debates. He was noticed for his retiring modesty and demeanor; always ready, however, to assume responsibilities and labors when necessary; but his services were never offered or pressed unless he was satisfied that they were desired or would be accepted. The State was new, and, although rapidly settling up, was as yet imperfectly developed, and the duties of the members were more of work than talk. Lincoln was always at the post of duty, prompt and faithful to advance the interests and wishes of his constituents and in the discharge of all his duties. When the session closed he walked home and resumed his surveying and study of law.

At this period a sorrowful and affecting incident occurred in Lincoln's history. Some time previous to his first election to the Legislature, Lincoln had formed an affectionate and ardent attachment for a young lady, Miss Anna R., of New Salem, member of a family highly honored and respected. She was pleasing in her manners, address and appearance, accomplished and intelligent, home-like in her tastes and disposition, and would have made Lincoln a suitable, agreeable and pleasant companion for life. Their attachment was mutual. Their union was deferred for a time until Lincoln could provide a home suitable for the wife of his choice. His election to the Legislature, and future prospects, held out the hope that soon their fondest desires would be realized. The present, to them, was happiness—the future full of hope and promise. Soon after Lincoln's return from the Legislature Miss R., his affianced, was taken seriously ill. Her disease soon took the form of quick consumption, and in a few days, after all that could be done by physicians, parents, lover, brother and friends, she quietly passed away, as a flower smitten by the untimely frost. To one of Lincoln's temperament, confiding, ardent and endearing, this severe and irreparable affliction came with all the bitterness and hopelessness which follows the sudden destruction of our most cherished hopes and anticipations. Following this sad bereavement came those seasons of sorrow and depression of spirits which had been observed frequently since the death of his mother and sister, and which now seemed to be augmented, and which followed him several years of his life. In those sad and mournful manifestations of an overruling Providence, was exhibited a lovely trait in Lincoln's character—his intense and devoted love.

CHAPTER VII.

ELECTION TO THE LEGISLATURE—EARLY ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

In 1836 Lincoln was again nominated and elected to the Legislature. This canvass throughout the State was warmly contested by both parties, and resulted in the success of the Whig ticket in Lincoln's district, and in the election of a Legislature whose members have never been excelled for ability, and the prominence they afterwards attained on the pages of their State's history. The members from Sangamon county, two Senators and seven members of the Lower House, were so remarkable for their altitude, that they were called "the long nine"—no one of the members was less than six feet in height, and Lincoln was the tallest of the number, and before the close of session he became the tallest in influence and popularity.

Of the members associated with Lincoln in this Legislature may be mentioned: James Semple, James Shields, Stephen A. Douglas, W. A. Richardson, afterwards United States Senators; John A. McClanard, Robt. Smith, John Hogan, J. J. Harden and John T. Stewart, since members of Congress; J. R. Dubois, Ninnian Edwards, Newton Cloud, John Moore, Wm. McMurtry, W. F. Linder, and others since distinguished in the history of their State. That Lincoln thus early in life and Legislative experience, and with the most talented and ablest men of his State, should have attained so prominent a position in the Legislature, shows a remarkable evidence of ability and popularity.

The State during the two previous years had increased rapidly in population and prosperity. Many questions of legislation were ably debated and acted upon, one of which was the adoption of a general system of internal improvements for the State at large, and one was the removal of the capital of the State from Vandalia to Springfield. The friends of the first measure could not succeed without the aid and votes of the members from Sangamon county, and they refused to support the first measure unless the removal of the capital was made a part of the proposed measure. The labors and in-

fluence of Lincoln in effecting the removal of the capital by connecting it with the first measure, gave him much credit as a legislator, and for himself as well as for the other members from his county, it was considered by their constituents as a master stroke of policy, and added much to their reputation and popularity. This session of the Legislature was also noted as being the period when Stephen A. Douglas first made his entry into public life. He was a Democratic member from Morgan county, the youngest member of the House, twenty-three years of age, and at once took his stand as a leader of the Democratic party. Lincoln and Douglas here first met as the leading representatives of different political parties. Here, during this session, they commenced that political and intellectual discussion of policy and principle which outlined the road to political preferment and renown which each proposed to pursue, not anticipating the struggle in which they were to engage in after years, which was to lead one, after years of political labor and toil, to hopes and anticipations unrealized and prostrated, and the other to the realization of his loftiest desires and aspirations for fame and renown.

At this period and proceeding, the larger portion of the immigration to Illinois, was from the border slave states. The question of the rights of the slave-holders, as they claimed them, had never up to this time been agitated or disputed. The prevailing sentiment of the people was in favor of slavery, or in favor of the claims of the slave-holders, as they held their legal and constitutional rights. The Democratic party was unanimously pro-slavery, and the anti-slavery sentiment among the Whigs was very weak and of no practical political force. The Abolitionists were despised by the Democrats and disowned by the Whigs. Both parties were strong in their professed regard for the constitution, and claimed before the public that the constitution protected the institution of African slavery in all its different phases as claimed by the slave-holders.

At this period, however, the agitation of the question of slavery in the Eastern States by the Abolitionists, was beginning to excite interest and inquiry in the public mind in the Western States, and as the avowed principles of the Abolition party were then so unpopular in the West, the Democrats, having a large majority in the Legislature, introduced in that body, resolutions of a strong pro-slavery character, for political effect, and for the purpose of affixing the stigma of Abolitionism on all who would not endorse them. The principle embraced in the resolutions offered by the Democrats, was that Congress had no power under or by the constitution to regulate or interfere with the institution of slavery in the States, Territories or District of Columbia. No united effort was made against the adoption

of the resolutions by the Whigs. Quite a number, however, looking to the partisan design in their introduction, voted against their passage. Two members of the Whig party were willing to express, in a more formal manner, their opposition to the resolutions. Abraham Lincoln and Dan Stone, members from Sangamon county offered a protest against the resolutions, and had entered upon the journals of the House their reasons for refusing to vote for the passage of said resolutions. The protest was: "That while the Congress of the United States has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the several States, and that while the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate the evils thereof, still the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, and that Congress has the power under the constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia at any time; but this power should be exercised only at the request of the people of the District." By this moderate protest we may have some idea of the resolutions that occasioned their utterance. That only two members of the Whig party signed this protest shows the low grade of the anti-slave sentiment in the State at that period. The protest made no reference to the power and authority of Congress to legislate on the subject in the Territories; it was seen, however, at once, that the same power that could legislate on the subject for the District could also for the Territories. Here Lincoln took occasion, on the first opportunity in public life, to make his first anti-slavery record. Moderate and guarded as it was in sentiment, his views and opinion on this great and growing question were here fully expressed, and he never afterwards became more strong in his sentiments than the principles of this protest indicated and affirmed. Lincoln had formed his principles on this subject in unison with the policy and action of the fathers of the republic. Their resolutions declaring that all the territory of the United States not embraced in the thirteen original states at that time should ever be free territory, was to him self evident that those resolutions intended to restrain the further extension of slavery and to confine it for all time to come within the limits it then occupied; and these principles being in full accord with his own sentiments, he thus early in his political life gave utterance to those great truths which later came to be acknowledged by the American people as true and correct—that Congress had full power to regulate, restrain and prohibit slavery in all territory in and under the jurisdiction of the United States. This humane protest for truth and justice, presented and spread upon the journals of the House of Representatives of Illinois, in 1836, was the outline, the principle and the platform upon which he stood and fought the great battle with Douglas, for freedom in the territories, and which principles and sentiments in a later day called Lincoln to the highest office in the gift of the American people, and gathered

at his call a million of freemen for the support and defence of the principles then and there enunciated.

We may, to some extent, imagine, at this late day, the scene on that occasion. Lincoln arising in his place, his countenance indicating firmness and pleasantry, asking the House the privilege of having his protest spread upon the journal, Douglas, in his seat, with countenance indicating disdain and contempt for the principles contained in the protest, not apprehending or realizing that in after years the last grand struggle for place and power—the highest in the gift of the American people—was to be fought on this issue, the germ of which was now being planted and which was to grow, until under the leadership of the unsophisticated youth now before him, those eternal principles of right and justice would prevail; and that in this, his last grand struggle, his efforts, his hopes and aspirations for success, elevation and power would fail, vanish and disappear as the morning dew before the rising sun.

The student of the political history of our government for the present century will find in Lincoln's protest a subject fruitful for thought and reflection. The Democratic party of his State, in their eagerness to promote the success of their political aspirations introduced their resolutions which were antagonistic to the ordinance of 1787, and subversive of the power and authority of the government of the United States. The long supremacy of the slave power and the Democratic party had made them arrogant and presumptuous in the declarations of their principles and policy, and in the person of their champion, the "Little Giant," was the battle against freedom to be waged in favor of slavery. Lincoln, on this occasion, was quick to respond for freedom, and his protest against the Democratic resolutions and in favor of the power of Congress to legislate for freedom was a resuscitation of the principles and policy of the fathers of the republic, as exhibited in their ordinance of 1787, for the prohibition of slavery in the territories. This may be said to have been the commencement of the great work of Lincoln's life; for, from this time forth, he was recognized as the champion of free soil and free labor, and marching onward with the people in the great national contest, he led them on to victory. The results of this have been commensurate with the interests involved, and the consequences have been the triumph of righteousness and justice, and the dawn, the fullness of a happy and reunited people.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOCATION AT STATE CAPITAL—ADMITTANCE TO THE BAR.

Lincoln had been admitted to the bar in 1836, and during this session of the Legislature, his friend, John J. Stuart, made a proposition to him to become his partner in the practice of law, which he accepted, and after the session closed, in April, 1837, he left New Salem and removed to Springfield, which ever after was his home. His law practice, to this time, had mainly been in Justice's Courts. He had also attended a few sessions of the higher courts held in his vicinity, and had gained a thorough knowledge of the practical forms and legal applications of processes of law. He is now about to enter upon a more extensive and laborious field of labor. The ties and associations of the past six years are, in a measure, to be sundered. Friends, faithful and true, who had shown and manifested a deep interest in his welfare and success, and whose aid and influence had done much to advance and forward him in his efforts for distinction and preferment, were to be left, but not forgotten. Subsequent visits to his old home proved the constancy of his friendship and affection. On his arrival at Springfield, he became a member in the family of William Butler, who was afterwards Treasurer of the State. The social and influential standing and surroundings of Mr. Butler's family were such that the influences, happily for Lincoln, were of the most lucrative and desirable character. Lincoln's labors and influence in the Legislature, in the transfer of the State capital to Springfield, from Vandalia, had given him a favorable introduction to the citizens, and his arrival was greeted with a warmth and welcome that was most gratifying to his aspirations and feelings. He was now about to enter into a professional vocation, to encounter in the race and struggle for place and eminence in his profession a number of master spirits, who have since made a bright record on the pages of their State's history. There was Douglas, Baker, Shields, Browning, Harden, Logan, Yates, Davis, Linden, Richardson, and others, who were now entered into the field as competitors in the race for professional preferment and political honors.

Soon after his removal to Springfield he was called to a special session of the Legislature, and his partner, Major Stuart, in the following September, was elected to Congress, and took his seat at the ensuing session, which necessarily closed their partnership. This connection had been one of advantage to Lincoln. It was an endorsement of his abilities, and gave him valuable assistance in his entry on his professional and political career. The citizens of Springfield, and county, having grateful recollections of his former services, would not allow him to pursue his professional labors without interruption. In 1833 his name was placed upon the legislative Whig ticket, and he was again elected. The membership of this Legislature was nearly equally divided between the two parties, the Democracy having a small majority. The sacred right of petition had been, by a Democratic Congress, denied and voted down. The industries and trade of the country had been prostrated by the crash and failure of the State bank system, and the people held, in a measure, the Democratic party responsible. These causes, and the rapid settlement of the northern portion of the State by emigrants from New England and the Middle States, had wrought a great change in the strength of the political parties in the State. Lincoln, at this time, and at this session, was regarded and recognized as the leading member of the Whig party, and was nominated as their candidate for Speaker of the House, and was defeated by one vote. He took a prominent part in all the discussions and debates of a national importance. Many of the debates were of a political character, designed to have their influence and effect on the next Presidential election, and particularly on the politics of the State. Reference has been made in the preceding chapter to Lincoln's peculiarities, relative to his surprising faculty and original ingenuity of telling anecdotes, always applicable and illustrating the event or subject then under consideration. It would seem that he had a story for every subject. Some event had occurred previously that would illustrate any matter he had under consideration, and it was really wonderful, that for every event in his life and history some law of association suggested some story which seemed to clothe itself in a form applicable to the event and occasion. Those who have heard him relate those humorous sayings have enjoyed them as being the most amusing and wittiest of their kind. The elements of wit and humor always pleased him, and whenever he found anything ludicrous, humorous or witty, he could not resist the inclination to use it, whatever the incident might be with which it was associated. Anything that was morally beautiful touched him deeply, and he was as equally sensitive to all that was grand, heroic and ludicrous in life. His stories and anecdotes were varied by the associations that called them forth; sometimes with a moral point, or elucidating some great truth or

proposition, and at other times with a point, humorous and ludicrous. An incident of the latter class occurred during the session of this Legislature. A member from Wabash county found something unconstitutional in almost every measure proposed and brought forward for discussion and adoption. He was a member of the Judiciary Committee, and after giving his objections to the measure, would generally move its reference to said committee. He finally became such a nuisance in that way that the members resolved that some method must be devised to silence him and abate the evil, and Lincoln was resorted to in order to effect this desirable object. An opportunity soon offered. A measure was introduced in which Lincoln's constituents were directly interested, when the member from Wabash arose and urged all his eloquence against its unconstitutional points, as he held them. Lincoln then arose, his grey eyes sparkling with mirth, and his features indicating something racy and humorous. He said: "Mr. Speaker—The attack of the member from Wabash on the constitutionality of the measure before the House reminds me of an incident that occurred with an old friend of mine down in Coles county. He was a peculiar old fellow, with heavy eyebrows, and a pair of spectacles always under them." A personal description was here at once recognized. "One morning, just after the old man got up, he imagined, on opening the door, that he saw a rather lively squirrel on a tree near his house, so he took down his rifle and fired at the squirrel, but the squirrel paid no attention to 'he shot. He loaded and fired again and again, until the thirteenth shot. He sat down his rifle impatiently and said to his boy, who was looking on, 'Dick, there is something wrong with this rifle.' 'The rifle is all right, I know it is; but where is your squirrel?' said Dick. 'Don't you see him humped up about half way up that tree?' asked the old man, peering over his spectacles, getting quite mystified. 'No, I don't see him,' said Dick, and then turning and looking in his father's face he exclaimed, 'Oh, pshaw! I see your squirrel now; you have been firing all this time at a louse on your eyebrow.'"

Lincoln resumed his seat without further remarks. The member from Wabash had been watching Lincoln with eager interest as his story proceeded, and at the close his eyes fell and his countenance indicated a fatal shot. The members were convulsed with merriment and laughter and the House was not further troubled with constitutional objections by the member from Wabash. Lincoln probably wrote this anecdote from an incident which the readers of Burns will recollect.

After the adjournment of the legislature, Lincoln returned to Springfield, intending to devote his time exclusively to the duties of his profession. The State was divided into judicial districts, comprising several counties in each, and holding court in the different counties, was called by the judge and

lawyers "riding the circuit." Some twelve weeks would be required to complete a circuit, which was repeated twice a year. It was at the capital of the State and on the circuits that Lincoln soon made a reputation that placed him among the most eminent lawyers of the State. His success may be mainly attributed to the following principles and method of business which he invariably pursued and practiced. If he was consulted in a case he carefully examined the main grounds for action; if he considered they were sufficient he at once took the case and prosecuted it with diligence to the end; if he thought his client had not a good case he always advised the applicant not to prosecute, telling him frankly that his case was not a good one, and that he was not willing to take the case, as he did not think he could succeed. Whenever he was employed, he made himself acquainted with all the points both for and against his client. Especially would he fully examine every point that could be made against his case by his opponent. He so fully made himself master of his case that his reputation for success soon became so general that the people soon regarded him as having no superior. In the first years of his professional life he was not regarded as deeply versed in the fundamental principles of law by his professional friends, still by them he was regarded as a remarkable advocate. All admitted that before a jury he had no superior. In presenting a case to a jury he always fairly presented both sides. The great struggle of his powers as an advocate was perfect clearness of statement, a fair open exhibition of both sides of the case and the power and skill to fasten on the common mind his chain of argument and logic, and conduct the same to the result of his own conclusions. He had the faculty of bringing every juror to feel that his statement of the case was an absolute aid to him in forming a correct and impartial verdict.

The fundamental principles of Lincoln's profession had required years of study and deep thought before he became well versed in the intricacies of the law; but the success he early attained was by his thorough knowledge and familiarity with his fellows—grown up with the people, and being one of the people in the common walks of life, he was qualified and could generally form a correct analysis of the capacity and thoughts of the men who composed the jury before whom his case was to be tried, and his arguments were addressed to them more in the cause of right and justice than of law, and his efforts were not so much to impress on the jury his own convictions as to lead them by his illustrations and deductions to the same conclusions that his argument indicated.

This "riding of the circuit," brought Lincoln in contact with the people that assembled at the county seats on these occasions, and his good nature, his pleasant, odd ways, and his amusing anecdotes and stories always

gathered around him a crowd of admirers. Those pleasant exhibitions of Lincoln's good feelings and familiarity with the people made him distinguished, popular and loved by all. A pleasing trait in his character was his regard and kind recollections of the old friends and companions of his earlier days. Frequently he would leave the village hotel after the day's labor in the courtroom and spend the evenings with them, and where it was possible, would stop with them during the court term. Nor did he in prosperity forget his relations who were poor and in humble circumstances in life. Whenever he could, he visited them, and when in their presence or at their homes no evidence of his elevation and his superiority in his condition of life was ever assumed or made perceptible.

A pleasing incident, in harmony with Lincoln's character, occurred on one of those trips on his circuit from Bloomington to Springfield, giving a pleasing and delightful insight into his kindness of heart. He called to stay over night with the writer, as was usual on this route. It was observed as he alighted from his buggy on his arrival, that his pantaloons were much soiled, and the remark was made: "Lincoln," (the usual address in those days) "you have found some mud on your travels to-day?" His reply was, "I will tell you about that after supper." Seated on the porch after supper, Lincoln says: "Charles, you recollect the slough this side of Funck's Grove, with the deep holes? In passing there this afternoon I saw in the distance a flock of sheep, and on the banks of one of the water-holes was a sheep, a mother, in deep distress. On riding up and looking down in the hole I saw a little lamb in the mire. As there was more mud than water, I saw at once that it could not get out itself. I felt a strong desire to liberate the little fellow, but I was in a quandary. I had bought this new suit of clothes at Bloomington, and I looked at the lamb and then at my new suit of clothes. I saw with pain the fruitless attempts of the lamb to get out, and the frantic appeals of the mother for the relief of her offspring. I thought I could not spoil my clothes in going down in the hole, and finally I concluded to go on and leave the little fellow to his fate. After going on some distance I felt so bad that I turned about and resolved to go back and get the sufferer out; so I went back and hitched my horse to the fence and took some rails off the fence and fixed them so I got down in the bottom of the hole and got the little fellow out safely. The mother seemed as well pleased as the lamb, and they ran off together, and looking back seeming to say, we are much obliged to you. After riding some time, with feelings much relieved, the thought occurred to me, what was the motive that induced me to return—was it to relieve the sufferer or to relieve my own feelings? What do you think of it, Charles?" I replied, "The question will admit of thought, but in this case, as I presume in all similar cases, whatever the motive, the object was and will be obtained—the relief of the mind as well as the sufferer."

CHAPTER IX.

MARRIAGE, AND ELECTION TO CONGRESS.

Soon after the election of John T. Stuart to Congress, in 1840, Lincoln's partnership with him in their law business was dissolved, and he entered into business associations with Stephen J. Logan, one of the most eminent and learned lawyers in the State. He entered into this new relation intending to devote his time exclusively to the duties of his profession, but the citizens of his county again demanded his services in the councils of the State.

He was again nominated for the Legislature in 1840, and elected by a large majority.

His name had been placed on the Whig ticket as one of the Presidential electors in 1836, and again he was called to head the electoral ticket in 1840. He took an active part in that exciting canvass, and his addresses for the hero of Tippecanoe at the great Log Cabin and Hard Cider Convention at Springfield, and others held in the State, are still remembered by those who heard them. As the Democratic majority was so large in the State that it could not entirely be overcome, he had the pleasure of rejoicing in the success of his candidate and the party to which he was warmly devoted.

At the meeting of the Legislature he was again nominated by the Whig members for Speaker of the House, and received more than the strength of his party, but the Democratic party being still largely in the majority, he was defeated. This session closed Lincoln's connection with the Legislature, as a member. He was afterwards frequently solicited by the people to represent them again, but he could not, as his professional business required his whole time and attention.

During this year, 1841, an incident occurred in Lincoln's history, one which was at variance with his life, and certainly not in unison with his principles and feelings. A sarcastic poetical phillipic appeared in the *Sangamore Journal*, published in Springfield, edited by Simon Francis, under the signature of "Aunt Becky." The poem was intended as a caricature, and made such allusions to James Shields, a young lawyer of Springfield, and since United

States Senator, that there could be no mistake in its application. Nature had been favorable to Shields in granting to him, at his youthful age, self-esteem, ostentation and a self-estimation of power and influence over the fair sex, which said in deeds as well as in words, that he could lead the hearts of the ladies captive at his will. This arrogant presumption, "Aunt Becky," treated not lightly. The poem in Springfield, where Shields was so well known, was a subject of much mirth and comment, and certainly held the person alluded to, in much ridicule and unpleasant gossip. There was not anything in the publication reflecting upon or derogatory to Shields' character, still, to one of high chivalric pretensions and self-importance and pride of self and person, it deeply wounded sensitive feelings.

Shields was haughty and impulsive, and, instead of treating the affair with silence and contempt, he at once proceeded to the office of the editor and demanded the author's name. Francis, who in proportions reminded one of "Falstaff," and he possessed in an eminent degree the combative principles of that noted personage, requested time to consult with the writer, and one day was given. Francis was now in a dilemma; the matter seemed to him to be assuming a serious phase; he could not for a moment think of assuming the responsibility, and to give the lady's name would be unpleasant. He thought of Lincoln and called on him for counsel.

"Oh," said Lincoln, "if Shields calls again for the writer's name tell him that I assume the responsibility." The writer of the poem was one of his intimate friends, and probably at this time a more tender relation existed, and without doubt Lincoln had seen the offensive article before it was published. He hardly expected that Shields, on so frivolous a matter, would press it to a duel. He had reason to believe that he would possibly receive a challenge, and he also intended to accept the same, if presented.

On the following day Shields called on Francis and was informed that A. Lincoln held himself responsible for the publication of the poem. The result was that Lincoln at once received a challenge from Shields, through his friend Col. R., and was at once referred to Lincoln's friend, Col. B. It may be stated that there were outside influences that had a bearing in this matter. Shields was a prominent member of the Democratic party. Lincoln was a rapidly rising leader in the Whig party. An exciting canvass had just closed in which Lincoln was successful, and the article being published in a Whig paper, and Shields believing that Lincoln was acquainted with the contents of the article before its publication, his sensitive feeling could only be healed by resort to the code of honor, as held by men of like character. The rules of the code gave Lincoln choice of weapons, and he selected broadswords for the encounter, and he proceeded to take lessons in the art of self-defence, under the instructions of E. H. M., a teacher in that branch of the military art.

The place of meeting selected was on an island in the Mississippi river opposite Alton, neutral ground between Illinois and Missouri. The meeting took place according to arrangement, the principals being accompanied by their seconds—Lincoln by Col. B. and Shields by Col. R. and Surgeon, Dr. E. H. M. Other parties, friends of the principals, made their appearance on the ground, determined that on no such frivolous grounds should a duel take place; the challenge had been sent without any conditions—no opportunity given whereby Lincoln could explain or give satisfaction to Shields' wounded honor. Lincoln now stated that if the challenge was withdrawn for the time being he would make his statement or explanations to their mutual friends, but that he could not and would not until the challenge was withdrawn. To this Shields' friends could not well object, and the challenge was withdrawn, and then Lincoln made his explanations as to the objects designed in the offensive publication, to the friends of both parties, which were considered satisfactory and honorable to both, and thus the difficulty was amicably adjusted. An incident occurred at the place of meeting which showed Lincoln's peculiarity and how little of dignity and decorum he exhibited on the occasion. While the friends of the parties were visibly engaged in arranging the preliminaries of the duel and endeavoring to bring it to a peaceful solution, Shields was standing with arms folded, a countenance stern, firm and majestic, awaiting the result of the deliberations, while Lincoln, with his broadsword, was engaged in cutting down the weeds and grass that obstructed a free movement of person about the ground selected for the encounter. The contrast in the bearing and demeanor of the principals caused a smile on the countenances of the friends of the parties which, taken with the surroundings, indicated a scene of the ludicrous and comical. The affair being amicably arranged the parties with their friends returned to Springfield. This incident, which has been frequently mentioned and alluded to by the press in all sections of the Union, was regarded in the community in which Lincoln lived as a silly, foolish affair, excusable on his part as he had championed the cause of a lady, and therefore, in the excitements of Lincoln's political life it was so regarded. That Lincoln held in his heart no antipathy against Shields was in later years made evident when Shields was appointed by Lincoln to a high command in the armies of the Republic.

At this period, 1842, Lincoln and E. D. Baker, of Springfield, and J. J. Hardin, of Jacksonville, were candidates before the Whig Convention for nomination for Congress. Referring to this Convention, Lincoln wrote to a friend: "We had a meeting of the Whigs of the county here on Monday last to appoint delegates to a District Convention, and Baker beat me and got the delegation instructed to go for him. The meeting, in spite of my attempts

to decline it, appointed me one of the delegates, so that in getting Baker the nomination I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made groomsman to the man who has 'cut him out' and is marrying his own dear gal." Hardin was nominated by the convention, and elected.

On the second day of November, 1842, Lincoln married Miss Mary Todd, daughter of Hon. Robert S. Todd of Lexington, Kentucky. Miss Todd had visited several years in Springfield, Illinois, previous to her marriage, with her married sisters, Mrs. N. W. Edwards and Mrs. Dr. Wallace. She was a lady of a pleasant and affectionate disposition, fond of gaiety and the social amusements of the day—tastes and temperments in many respects different from Lincoln. The union, however, proved to be a pleasant and happy one. Home to Lincoln had many pleasant and sacred memories. It was to him a home of rest and domestic happiness where he laid aside the labors and duties of his profession, and in the bosom of his family, and with his children, spent his happiest hours. Lincoln, now for two years, was actively engaged in his professional duties and in the enjoyment of his new domestic life, the time thus passed away until the great political contest of 1844.

Lincoln, early in life, read the biography and speeches of Henry Clay, and espoused with all the ardor of his youthful enthusiasm the principles advocated by that eminent statesman in the councils of the nation; and he labored with his accustomed energy and zeal for the success of Mr. Clay's political aspirations. His name was placed at the head of the Presidential ticket as an elector. He entered into the canvass with his accustomed energy and canvassed the entire state, and visited Indiana and delivered there several addresses in favor of his chieftain. The result of this strongly contested canvass was a sad disappointment to Lincoln. While it had rendered his great hero a hopeless man politically, the canvass had given Lincoln a prominence much higher than he had heretofore attained. His canvass had given credit and strength to the Whig party and made him a reputation as one of the most effective and powerful political speakers in the country. His speeches on and in favor of the protective system of duties which was a prominent issue in the campaign, were clear and powerful, and their subsequent adoption as the national policy proved the correctness of his views in those addresses, which are still remembered for the clearness of their arguments and soundness of their logic. In the result of this election Lincoln was not only disappointed but disgusted. In contrasting the political principles and great superior abilities of Clay over his successful competitor, he had his misgivings as to the capacity of the people for self government. The result seemed to him, reasoning from his political standpoint, that the people had made a serious mistake in the choice of their rulers, and their decision was

antagonistic to true political principles, and to the correct and true policy which should direct and control the national government; and, in the heat of his disappointment, he declared to his friends that he would, for the future, discard politics and attend to his own business, and devote his time to the duties of his profession. But his ambition and friends did not allow him long to be influenced by this formal declaration. In 1846 the friends of Mr. Clay requested him to deliver an address at Lexington, Kentucky, in favor of gradual emancipation. The sentiment and views of Lincoln were in unison with those of Mr. Clay in reference to slavery in the several states. Both held that it was a question of local legislation, and that the evil should be abated by gradual emancipation and colonization. Lincoln had never seen the eminent statesman, and was desirous to hear his address on that occasion. He accordingly arranged his business and left Springfield and arrived at Lexington in time to attend the meeting. After the address was delivered, Lincoln was introduced to Mr. Clay, who invited him to visit Ashland. This gave much pleasure to Lincoln; he had heard him on the rostrum, and from the private visit and interview he anticipated much gratification. He found Mr. Clay at home very hospitable, polished in his manners and bearing, but evincing a superiority and pre-eminence that could not be misunderstood. He was evidently kind and affable, but it was in that patronizing, liberal way which creates unpleasant feelings in a sensitive mind. On his returning home it was at once apparent to Lincoln's friends that he had been somewhat disappointed in his expectations of Mr. Clay. The address delivered was written, and was wanting the pathos and eloquence that Lincoln expected. It was soon observed that his visit to Ashland had modified in a degree his enthusiastic admiration of the "mill boy of the slashes," and that Mr. Clay, as a man, possessed the fallibility and weakness common to all men.

In 1846 Lincoln was nominated by the Whig party for Congress, in the Sangamon district. Having received the nomination he laid aside his law books and devoted the intervening period before the election to a complete and exhaustive canvass of his district. His opponent, on the Democratic ticket, was the Rev. Peter Cartwright, an old pioneer and leading Minister and Elder in the Methodist Church. The popularity of Lincoln was unbounded; his majority was fifteen hundred and eleven, the largest ever received before by any Whig candidate in that district. This remarkable majority was larger than that of General Taylor in 1848, when a much larger vote was polled, and was another evidence of Lincoln's popularity, and of the trust and confidence reposed in him by the people.

CHAPTER X.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On the 6th of December, 1847, Lincoln took his seat in the Thirtieth Congress. His experience derived from four sessions in the Legislature of his state prepared him well for his congressional duties. He had made himself fully acquainted with national policy and legislation. To the former, in his enthusiastic canvass for Mr. Clay, he had devoted his most laborious efforts, and understood well the great questions which at that period divided the parties and people. He being the only Whig member from Illinois gave him influence and prominence in the House of Representatives. It was at this session that Stephen A. Douglas first took his seat in the United States Senate. Lincoln and Douglas had first met as representatives of their respective parties in the Illinois Legislature. Douglas, having with him the support of the large Democratic majority, had the more rapidly advanced in the political race; it seemed somewhat remarkable that the two leading men of their respective parties in their state should be brought together and kept so closely in contact until events still in embryo should bring them out before their own state and country as champions of antagonistic principles and politics which were momentous in their issues and grand in their results, and which, even at that time, had begun to agitate and divide the American people.

On the meeting of Congress, the President of the United States, James K. Polk, was anxious to justify the war which he had declared against Mexico, and place in a favorable light his action before the American people. In his message to Congress of December 7, 1847, he said that, "The Mexican Government had, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts to, involved the two countries in war by invading the territory of Texas, and shedding the blood of our citizens on our soil." Lincoln took issue with this statement of the President, by a set of resolutions he introduced in the House, which were called "the spot resolutions," taking the ground, that the first blood that was shed was on the Rio Grande; if not on Mexican territory, at least it was on disputed territory—territory over which the Texan Government had never,

previous to annexation, exercised any jurisdiction. The resolutions were introduced on the 22d of December. They found no favor or advocates with the Democratic party, and being laid over under the rules, they were not afterwards called up; but they formed the basis of a speech delivered by Lincoln on the 12th of January in which all the points in the resolution were fully discussed and treated. The resolutions called upon the President, by a series of satirical, and yet serious questions, to indicate or fix the spot where the first blood was spilled. The speech was fully characteristic of the speaker, simple, direct and clear as to the question at issue, and was considered the most effective against the administration on the subject delivered during the session. Texas having been annexed to the United States, and in the interest of the slave states, and the war undertaken in the same interest, and for the acquisition of territory for the extension of slavery, it is worthy of remark here, that on all questions arising out of this war the Southern members of the Whig party acted and voted with the Whigs of the free States. Robert Toombs, A. H. Stephens, Thomas B. King, and others, made their record as against the war.

On the first of June the National Whig Convention met at Philadelphia to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. Lincoln was one of the members of that Convention, representing Illinois. The Convention being governed in the selection of a candidate, not so much for ability as availability, selected General Taylor. The war had made General Taylor a hero; his victories, and the simplicity and modesty of his dispatches had created an enthusiasm for him in the rank and file of both parties. Taylor and Cass having been nominated for the Presidency, the session of Congress was continued until August. After the nominations were made, much of the time of the members was occupied in making campaign speeches. On the 20th of July Lincoln obtained the floor and delivered a speech reviewing the points at issue between the two parties. This speech, viewed in the light of a campaign address, was sharp, telling and unsparing, and in revealing the weak points in one candidate and marking the strong points in the other, it could not be excelled. The friends of General Cass were endeavoring to give him a military reputation, as he had been near Hull's surrender in 1812. On this occasion, Lincoln's remarks relative to General Cass' claims for military honors were intended to be humorous and sarcastic. "By the way, Mr. Speaker," said Lincoln, "do you know that I am a military hero? Yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled and come away. Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender, and, like him, I saw the place afterwards. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break, but I bent my musket pretty badly on one occasion. If General

Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges on wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians it was more than I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with mosquitoes; and, although I never fainted from the loss of blood, I can say truly that I was often hungry, and I hope, if I ever should turn Democrat and be taken up by that party as a candidate for the Presidency, they will not make fun of me by trying to make me a military hero."

The first session of the Thirtieth Congress came to a close in August, and the members returned to their homes to prosecute and complete the campaign which had been commenced at Washington. Lincoln had discharged his duties conscientiously and faithfully. He found, however, on his return home, that his action on the questions connected with the Mexican war had not generally pleased his constituents. The anti-war sentiment was not as strong in the West as in the East, and the people had, in a measure, endorsed the sentiment uttered before his regiment by Colonel Baker, previous to taking up their march for Mexico, "My country, right or wrong." The war was popular in the West, as the enthusiasm for General Taylor fully demonstrated. Lincoln, although opposed to the war, believing it to be unnecessary and unconstitutional, voted for all the men and supplies that were required. After the close of the session of Congress he visited New England and delivered a number of campaign speeches, and then returned home and entered with ardor into the canvass for General Taylor, and continued until the day of the election, and then rejoiced for the success of his candidate and the national triumph of the party for whose prosperity and success he had so long and faithfully labored.

In this political canvass the Whigs were charged by their opponents with inconsistency. They had selected as their standard bearer a man whose reputation had been made by the successful prosecution of a war which they had opposed. General Taylor had been nominated because he was a military hero, not for any natural or acquired fitness for the Presidency. The war had provided an instrument whereby the Whigs might acquire power and success, and they were not slow to seize it.

Lincoln, writing from Washington to a friend, a prominent political member of the Whig party, said in his letter: "In law, it is good policy never to plead what you need not, lest you oblige yourself to prove what you cannot. The application I mean to make of this rule is, that you should go for General Taylor, because you can take some Democrats and lose no Whigs; but if you go for some other one because he was in favor of the war and the mode of prosecuting it, you will still take some Democrats, but you lose more Whigs, so that, in the sum of the operation, you will be the loser. This is

my opinion, and, if you look around, I doubt if you do not discover such to be the fact among your own neighbors."

Soon after the close of the canvass Lincoln left his home to take his seat in the second session of this Congress, which was comparatively a quiet one. The war with Mexico had been brought to a close by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Whigs had elected General Taylor, and the national pulse had resumed its wonted tenor. Lincoln, during this session, left on record more fully his anti-slavery sentiments. He voted, as he often said, forty times for the Wilmot proviso. He stood firmly on the right of petition to Congress, and did as much in opposition to the extension of slavery as opportunity offered, and as his conceived notions of constitutional obligations would allow him to do. Early in the session, Gott, a member from New York, introduced a resolution instructing the Committee on the District of Columbia to report a bill prohibiting the slave trade in the District. This resolution appearing to take measures impolitic and that could not succeed in the House, Lincoln voted against its adoption. He, however, on the sixteenth day of January, introduced a substitute for this resolution. It provided that no person not within the district, and no person thereafter born within the district, should be held to slavery within the district at the will of their master, who could claim their full value at the hands of the government, and that the act itself should be subject to approval of the voters of the district. The above are the prominent features of the bill. It failed to pass, owing to opposition from members of the slave states. There have been those who have believed and held that Lincoln did not regard slaves as property under the constitution, and have quoted his statements made during his contest with Douglas, in which he denied the statement made by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision, that "the right of property in slaves is distinctly and expressly in the constitution." He held that there was a great difference between a distinct and express affirmation and a tacit recognition of property of slaves as the constitution implied. His anti-slavery sentiments, as expressed, and record as implied in the bill he introduced in Congress, with his treatment of the slave question during the rebellion, establishes the fact beyond controversy that he regarded slaves as property under the constitution. His sentiments and feelings were that slavery was morally and unjustly wrong, and his humanity and regard for that which was morally right and just in that direction, was held and moved by his obligations to the constitution and laws as he understood them.

The fourth of March closed Lincoln's congressional term and labors. His victories hereafter were to be achieved in a different and larger field. After the close of his congressional term, his friends endeavored to secure his

appointment as Commissioner of the General Land Office, but the effort failed. On returning to his home in Springfield, he found that his professional business had suffered materially during his congressional term. He at once entered with energy upon the duties of his profession, and prosecuted them successfully until 1854, giving less attention to state and national politics than he had during any period of his previous political life. He was called to stand in 1852 as an elector on the Scott electoral ticket. He made but few speeches during this canvass. He thought the selection of the Whig standard bearer not a fortunate one, and not having confidence in its success, he did not allow the contest to draw him away from his professional duties. He had made his record in Congress on the slavery question, voting for the Wilmot proviso on every occasion, and had introduced a bill for the payment to those owners of slaves liberated in the District of Columbia. The sentiment of the people of the West at that time was not fully up to the standard indicated by Lincoln's record on the slavery question, but each succeeding wave of public opinion indicated an increasing sentiment in that direction. Lincoln, during those years of which he was engaged in his professional business, was a close observer of and not indifferent to the national events then in progress.

On the 9th of September, 1850, California was admitted into the Union. The State was formed from territory wrested from Mexico, by which the South expected to extend the area of their peculiar institution, the leaders in the South realizing the fact that their political power was surely departing from them, and they were eager and zealous in their efforts and expedients to retain it. To satisfy the South, concessions were exacted from the free states called the compromise measures of 1850. This concession to the slave powers was not even satisfactory to the South. The political leaders of that section were not content with the mutual agreement, and could not see in them the security they desired, and the free states saw that the intention and results of the compromise measures would be to force slavery into the free territories, and they could only see in them abasement and humiliation. The people, however, desired quiet and peace. They had become weary of the endless agitation, and accepted the action of the two national conventions, which, in 1852, adopted these measures, as they trusted they would be a final settlement of the differences between the two sections of the Union. These concessions to the slave power and interest, were not satisfactory to Lincoln, and he had no confidence that they would secure the desired results. His study of national politics and his knowledge of the leading men and measures, had satisfied him that the last slave state had been admitted into the Union, and that the time was not remote when the principles of free

soil and free labor were to become the great leading political issues and questions that would divide the national parties, and that in this contest of the people for principle, right, justice and freedom, would prevail.

The period intervening between 1850 and 1854, was a season of professional prosperity and of domestic happiness to Lincoln. With an affectionate and agreeable companion, their home had been blessed with children, and they were to him a source of pleasure and enjoyment rarely if ever excelled, and when from the labors and anxieties of his professional and political duties he returned to the family circle he found rest and happiness which was pure and unalloyed.

Lincoln had four children, all sons, Robert, Edward, (who died in infancy), William, who died in Washington during the President's administration, and Thomas, since deceased. Robert, the eldest, now the only survivor, is a prominent lawyer of Chicago, and is at present a member of President Arthur's Cabinet, holding the honorable position of Secretary of War. The home endearments and enjoyments of Lincoln's boyhood days were renewed in his own family circle, and the honored and filial relations of husband and wife, parents and children, were happily blended in love and affection. Lincoln's home feelings were notably expressed by him on his receipt of a telegram announcing his nomination for President by the Chicago convention. He looked at it silently, while his friends around him shouted in triumph. He said in his own peculiar way, "There is a little woman down at our house who would like to hear this; I'll go down and tell her." He was anxious to be the first to communicate the happy tidings.

CHAPTER XI.

KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL—SENATORIAL ELECTION.

The historical events of 1854, were remarkable in their inception and in their extraordinary results upon the final settlement of the slavery question. Notwithstanding the passage of the compromise measures, the discussion of the slavery question in Congress was began and continued. This inflamed and excited the public mind, and which was destined to continue until the institution was destroyed. The pledges of peace and harmony which had been given, seem to have been disregarded and unheeded. The abrogation of the Missouri compromise of 1820 was affected, and a bill organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was enacted, which left them free to choose whether they would have slavery as an institution or not. The admission of California had given preponderance to the free states. To regain that power, and force slavery upon those territories was evidently the design and object of the slave interest in the enactment of the bill.

Judge Douglas was the author of what was termed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill—a bill which he based upon what he was pleased to call popular sovereignty. This, opening up to the admission of slavery, territory which by the compromise of 1820 was set apart for free territory, aroused the popular feeling to a degree which had never before been exhibited. Men who in good faith had acquiesced in the compromise measures, felt that they had been overreached and foully wronged. This movement in the slave interest aroused Lincoln to the reality, as he then believed, that there was to be no final settlement until either freedom or slavery should triumph. He regarded the institution as the fathers of the republic regarded it. As Washington did, when, as President of the United States, he approved and signed an Act of Congress, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern territory, and a year later when he wrote to Lafayette, saying "That he considered the prohibition a wise measure, and expressing the hope that we should some time have a union of free states." This new doctrine that slavery was right and was entitled to the same consideration as freedom,

and that it was claiming national recognition and protection everywhere, awakened and aroused Lincoln's indignation and resistance, and this soon became the popular sentiment and feeling in all the free states. Senator Douglas had seen the approach of the political commotion in the distance, and in his desire to satisfy his friends in the North and propitiate the South, he brought forward his Kansas-Nebraska Bill, hoping to outride the storm under the delusion, as it proved to be, of popular sovereignty. Senator Douglas was fairly entitled to the credit of being an acute politician, but here he soon found that he had made a great mistake, even with the members of his own party. It was to be the conflict of the age, and on its issue between Lincoln and Douglas, was to be fought the battle of giants, not for popular sovereignty, but for and against freedom. We do Senator Douglas no injustice to say that at this time he saw the White House in the distance, and that he was trimming his sails for a voyage in that direction, and that Lincoln had in his vision a seat in the United States Senate. Both were to be disappointed in their expectations. Senator Douglas, before he left Washington, had heard the mutterings of the storm in the distance, but he was illy prepared for his reception in his own state. He arrived in Chicago the first of September, and in his first attempt after the passage of his bill to address his constituents, he was refused a hearing. We can imagine how great and universal was the opposition to the principles of his bill, when the Democracy of Chicago refused to hear their great champion and leader in defence of it. However, the first demonstration of political displeasure soon passed away, and the city which refused to hear the exposition and defence of his policy, now honors his dust and points with pride to his monument as that of a great leader of a party long in the ascendancy in the state. After leaving Chicago he addressed the people in several of the principal towns, but the feeling of the people was such that his speeches affected the public mind but little. In October he arrived in Springfield, on the occasion of the State Fair. A large number of representative men from all parts of the State had come together for consultation on the impending political crisis. The chief interest of the occasion was in a discussion between Lincoln and Douglas. Judge Douglas had long been in public life. His speeches in the Senate on the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had given him a national reputation. He was the recognized leader of his party in his own state. His experience in debate, his great ability, his ambition and strong will, and his untiring industry, made him a most formidable antagonist. He entered into a defence of his policy with the bearing of a man who was determined not to be defeated. That he made an able defence on this occasion was acknowledged by all. On the succeeding

day Lincoln replied. The *Sangamon Journal* and the *Chicago Press and Tribune* said it was a masterly effort. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was the subject, and his exposition of its fallacies was declared to be unanswerable and overwhelming. The following passage is given as being worthy of note for its effect on his audience: "My distinguished friend says it is an insult to the emigrants to Kansas and Nebraska to suppose they are not able to govern themselves. We must not slur over an argument of this kind because it happened to tickle the ear. It must be met and answered. I admit that the emigrant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself, but," the speaker said, rising to his full height, "I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent." This was the whole difference and matter between him and Douglas, and the people so understood it.

The next meeting between the champions took place at Peoria shortly afterwards. The speeches made here were reported. In this instance Lincoln's triumph was more complete than at Springfield. It was evident that Judge Douglas had become conscious that he was not invulnerable. He had evidence of Lincoln's power over the people, and did not manifest his usual confidence in the principle he had espoused. It may be here remarked that Lincoln in his political speeches never resorted to the tricks of stump speakers. The real questions at issue occupied his entire attention. He never endeavored to raise a false issue or evade a real one. If he told a story it was not to amuse his audience, but to illustrate his argument. He was always in earnest and closely argumentative. Here, as at Springfield, Lincoln occupied more than three hours in the delivery of his speech. One passage will suffice to illustrate both. Judge Douglas argued that the people of Illinois had no interest in the question of slavery in the Territories, that it only concerned the people of the Territories. This was in accordance with his own feelings when he declared that he did not care whether slavery was "voted up or voted down" in Kansas. Lincoln opposed this on the broad ground of humanity and the terms of the Declaration of Independence, but to bring the argument more directly home, and to show his audience and the people of Illinois that they had a practical interest in the question of slavery in the Territories, he said: "By the Constitution each State has two Senators; each has a number of Representatives in proportion to the number of its people; but in ascertaining the number of the people for this purpose five slaves are counted as equal to three whites. The slaves do not vote; they are only counted and so used as to swell the influence of the white man's vote. To show the comparison we will take the States of Maine and South Carolina. Both States are equally represented in the Congress of the United States. Now how are they in the number of their white people? Maine has

581,813, while South Carolina has 274,567. Maine has twice the number that South Carolina has and 32,679 over. Then the influence of each white man in South Carolina is more than double that of any man in Maine. This is all because South Carolina has, besides her white people, 387,984 slaves. The South Carolinian has precisely the same advantage over us, as well as over every white man in every free State. This principle in the aggregate gives the slave States in the present Congress twenty additional Representatives, being seven more than the majority by which they passed the Nebraska bill. I do not mention it to complain of it in so far as it is already settled. It is in the Constitution, and I do not, for that cause or any other cause, propose to alter or destroy or disregard the Constitution. I stand by it fairly, fully and firmly. But when I am told that I must leave it altogether to others to say whether new partners are to be bred up and brought into the firm on the same degrading terms against me, I must respectfully demur. I insist that whether I shall be a whole man or the half of one, or less, in comparison with others, is a question in which I am somewhat concerned, and one which no other man can have a sacred right of deciding for me."

Lincoln would have been gratified to have continued those discussions with Douglas in other parts of the State. There was a revolution in public opinion evidently in progress. An election for the members of the State Legislature was near at hand. The friends of Douglas had called him from Washington to defend his course in the National Legislature and his Nebraska bill, before the people. He had come and endeavored to turn and stay the current of revolution, but had signally failed. He now saw that it would not be prudent to continue the contest. He had been engaged in a heavy skirmish and had been worsted. He felt like retiring and preparing for the decisive battle which was yet to come. It is certain after the close of the debates a conference between Lincoln and Douglas was held and of the result there have been various reports. Whatever it was, Douglas returned to Washington and Lincoln continued to address the people in different parts of the State.

The excitement attending the election of members of the Legislature at this time was without a parallel in the State. Owing very materially to Lincoln's efforts, for the first time since the Democratic party was first organized, the Legislature of Illinois was in the hands of the opposition. Three tickets were in the field—Democratic, Anti-Nebraska and Whig. The interest attending this election continued until the meeting of the Legislature. There were two antagonistic elements or interests to be harmonized in order to succeed or beat the nominee of the Democrats, who still held to Judge Douglas as their leader. The Anti-Nebraska Democrats would not unite in caucus with the Whigs, and three candidates for United States Senator were

nominated by the respective parties. Lincoln was the nominee of the Whigs, Lyman Trumbull of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats and General James Shields, the then incumbent, of the Douglas Democrats. On joint ballot the Democrats had forty-four votes, the Whigs, forty-five votes and the Anti-Nebraska men, ten votes. In the Senatorial Convention on the first ballot General Shields received forty-one votes, Lincoln, forty-five votes, scattering thirteen votes. The balloting was continued until the sixth ballot was taken, without materially changing the votes. On the seventh ballot the Democrats dropped Shields and placed in nomination Governor Mattison, who received forty-four votes, Lincoln, thirty-eight votes, Trumbull, nine votes, scattering thirteen votes. On the tenth ballot, Lincoln having withdrawn his name, Trumbull received fifty-one votes and Mattison forty-seven votes. Here was seen the magnanimity and devotion of Lincoln to principle. That he was desirous and ambitious for the honors of this high office there can be no question. He saw, however, on the selection by the Democrats of Governor Mattison as their candidate, who had not committed himself on the great question, that there was a possibility of his election. He urged his friends to leave him and go for Trumbull. With reluctance they yielded to his entreaties, and the result was the astonishment of the Democrats, who did not believe that the opposition could unite. To a friend of his in the Legislature, who was strongly opposed to voting for Trumbull, Lincoln said: "I think the indications now are that unless the Whigs unite on Trumbull, Mattison will be elected, and this, if possible, we should prevent. In voting for Trumbull the Whigs sacrifice no principle. Trumbull is with us on the great principle we have been contending for, and if the Whigs unite on him, we shall secure the Anti-Nebraska vote, which is more important to us than the election of a Whig Senator which now is, I think, not possible. The non-extension of slavery is to be the great party question in our next State and national election, and we should take every legitimate measure to secure friends and strength for our party and principles, and it seems to me that we can do much in that direction by the election of Trumbull." Lincoln had no reason to regret his personal sacrifice, for, as he predicted, the opposition soon united, and he was selected as their standard bearer.

CHAPTER XII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

At this period, 1854, politics in Illinois, as well as in all the free States, was in a chaotic state. Whigs, native American and Anti-Nebraska Democrats composed the opposition to the Democracy. Lincoln was still a Whig, but he had become convinced from passing events that the organization was in a state of disruption; the interest of slavery had severed it forever from the southern portion that had made it a powerful national party.

On the vote to repeal the Missouri compromise, the Southern Whigs had united and voted with the Democrats, and this union created two sectional parties—the opposition to the extension of slavery was sectional and the party that formed this opposition, however broad its views might be, was necessarily sectional. Lincoln was not slow to perceive that this unity of the South in favor of the extension of slavery with and in the name of the Democratic party, would unite all opposed to those measures in one great party, and that the time for its organization was at hand. A convention had been called to meet at Bloomington, May 29, 1856. Here, with Lincoln's assistance, the Republican party of Illinois was organized, a State ticket nominated and a delegation appointed to the National Republican Convention to assemble at Philadelphia on the 17th of June. Lincoln was now an active member of a party whose avowed purpose it was to resist the extension of slavery in the Territories, and confine it to the States where it only held its rights under the Constitution. He made a speech on this occasion which was of marked power and eloquence. A writer says: "Never was an audience more electrified by human eloquence. Again and again during the progress of its delivery the audience sprang to their feet and upon benches and testified by long continued shouts and the waving of hats how feelingly the speaker had wrought upon their minds and hearts." Lincoln was now regarded, not only by the Republicans of Illinois, but by all the Western States, as the first man in the party. His name was presented to the National Convention as their candidate for Vice-President. On the informal ballot he received 110 votes

to 259 for Dayton. The vote was a complimentary one, and was Lincoln's first formal introduction to the nation.

Lincoln engaged with his usual earnestness and energy in public addresses during the campaign for Fremont and Dayton, the Republican nominees, and had the satisfaction, after a heated and spirited contest, to find a notable change in the politics of his State. Col. W. H. Bissell, nominated in opposition to the Democratic candidate, was elected Governor by a large majority. Lincoln's readiness in turning a political point was fully illustrated by him during this campaign while making a speech in Coles county. A voice in the crowd called out: "Mr. Lincoln, is it true that you entered this State driving an ox team barefooted?" Lincoln paused a moment as if considering whether he should notice such cool impertinence, and then said: "I think I could prove that fact by at least a dozen men in this crowd, any one of whom is far more respectable than my questioner." The question seemed to inspire him, and he proceeded to state what free institutions had done for himself, and to show the evils of slavery to the poor struggling white man wherever it existed, and then asked if it was not natural that he should hate slavery and speak against it. "Yes," said he, "We will speak for freedom and against slavery as long as the constitution of our country guarantees free speech—until everywhere on this wide land, the sun shall shine and the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil." From this time, it may be said, that Lincoln was, to the close of his life, engaged in political affairs. He now only occasionally, in the line of his profession, took charge of important cases in the higher courts.

Soon after the inauguration of President Buchanan, Senator Douglas was invited to deliver a speech at Springfield, Illinois. In that speech the Senator exhibited the progress he had made in his principles and his departure from the fundamental tenets of the fathers of the republic, by announcing that the signers of the Declaration of Independence, when they asserted "that all men are created equal," only meant to say, "that British subjects on this continent were equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain."

Lincoln was invited by many of the citizens to reply and he did so. After giving in his ingenious manner the absurdity and the ridiculous interpretation of that sacred instrument, he then said he would give his opinion as to what the framers of the declaration meant. It was stated in such a liberal and catholic spirit that the following extract will be admired and appreciated. He said: "I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness

in what respect they did consider all men equal—equal in certain ‘inalienable rights,’ among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They said this and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer such a boon. In fact, they had no power to confer that equality. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enjoyment of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and be revered by all, constantly looking to, constantly laboring for and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximating and thereby constantly spreading, deepening in its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere.”

The purposes and intention of making Kansas a slave State, which Lincoln had foreseen and foretold, was now in full progress. Under the Kansas-Nebraska bill a pro-slavery Legislature was elected, mostly by non-residents. The free-soil men, who numbered three-fourths of the population, refused to participate on account of the illegality of the election. This Legislature met at Lecompton and passed an Act providing for the election of delegates to a convention to form a State Constitution. In the election of the members to this convention the free-soil men took no part, on the ground that the Legislature which ordered it had no legal authority. Only 2,000 votes were polled, whereas the legal voters in the Territory were not less than 10,000. The convention met and a pro-slavery constitution was formed. The history of its fate will be incidentally mentioned in a succeeding chapter. The great struggle for freedom and the non-extension of slavery was now approaching and near at hand, and here may properly be stated the political standing and connections which Lincoln and Douglas sustained and supported in this great national contest.

The Senatorial term of Douglas was now about to terminate, and he desired that his senatorial action should be indorsed and approved by the people of his State, and he be returned again to the Senate. But events in Kansas had taken a course he had not anticipated or desired. The burden of the pro-slavery constitution was pressing heavily on his shoulders, and he at first endeavored to shift the load on the Republican party. In this attempt, in a speech delivered at Springfield, speaking of Kansas, he said: “The law under which the delegates to the convention are now about to be elected, is fair and just in its provisions, and if any portion of the inhabitants acting under the advice of political leaders shall absent themselves from the polls, on that party must rest the responsibility.” By these words, Douglas was fully committed to whatever might be the action and conclusions of the con-

vention. He had freely and voluntarily given the slave power what it had not asked for in the Kansas-Nebraska bill; he had offered and given the slave power the privilege and opportunity of making slave States out of territory set apart for freedom, if it could; and now the people were about to hold him responsible for the offspring of his own creation. In his desire to conciliate and please the slave power, he had divided his own party in his own State, and he was not slow to observe that his own political success in the future was in danger. He was soon assured that he could not place the burden of the Kansas obloquy upon the Republicans, and that his only prospect of re-election to the Senate required him to take issue with the Democratic administration in this case and assume the championship of the anti-Lecompton party.

As the most notable and important period in Lincoln's history was his contest with Douglas for a seat in the United States Senate in 1858, and for the Presidency in 1860, it may be proper here to say something further in reference to Douglas himself:

His career in his adopted State as a political aspirant had been one of remarkable success. He had from his first entry into public life acquired the confidence and support of his party, and long had he been honored and recognized as its leader, and had secured the power and influence second to none in his State. In the Senate and national councils he had achieved a national reputation of which he might well be proud. On all important questions of national significance he wielded a force and influence excelled by none; he had labored for and done much in promoting and advancing the interests and prosperity of his adopted State; to the material interests of and to the success, advancement and preservation of the power of his party he was fully committed and devoted, and his party had always given him its entire confidence and support. The national reputation that Douglas had secured and achieved encouraged his friends to present his name as a candidate for the Presidency in the Democratic Convention in 1852; in that convention he received ninety-two votes. In the Democratic Convention of 1856 he was again a candidate, receiving 122 votes out of 296, and the nomination of Buchanan was only effected by Douglas requesting his friends to withdraw his name from the contest. These popular manifestations of favor had inspired Douglas with the hope that in 1860 he would be the nominee of the Democratic party for President. His Kansas-Nebraska bill was intended by him as a popular measure for effect in that direction; it was a bid for the votes of the South, and the doctrine of popular sovereignty was intended to make the provisions of the bill acceptable to the Democracy of the free States. The success

Douglas had not been unnoticed by Lincoln; he had admiration for his tact, and respect for his power with the people.

In one of Lincoln's original manuscripts, speaking of Douglas as Senator, he said: "I effect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached—so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with the elevation. I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow." Noble words, worthy of him who exemplified and uttered them.

The adoption of the Lecompton constitution by the pro-slavery vote in Kansas had dispelled the illusion of popular sovereignty in the free States, as it was fully demonstrated that it was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas. At this time the administration at Washington had committed itself in favor of the Lecompton constitution, and no apparent opposition was manifested against it by the leaders of the Democratic party. Before Douglas left Illinois for Washington it was said that he would not support the administration in its approval of the Lecompton constitution, nor are we prepared to say that Douglas was not actuated by the best of motives in this resolution. To oppose that constitution was not inconsistent with his doctrine of popular sovereignty when taken by itself, for it was clear and certain that this constitution was not the act and deed of the citizens of Kansas. It is proper here to remark that Douglas saw now clearly that he could not carry the Lecompton constitution through the senatorial contest in his State, then impending, and he saw also that his opposition to the Lecompton fraud would take from the Republican party some of its best capital and lessen the efforts of the opposition to defeat him. On taking his seat in the Senate on his arrival at the national capital, Douglas startled many of his Democratic friends by taking his stand against the administration on the Lecompton question. In opposition to that slavery constitution he labored and voted with the Republicans. It was a stand—a step not often taken by politicians; it lost him the support of the South in his Presidential aspirations, and it was his only salvation in his senatorial aspiration in his own State. It was a bold step, and we may not say that it was not a patriotic one, but taken in all its connections, it was a remarkable one. He it was who, by his Kansas-Nebraska bill, had opened this free territory to this outrage, and he was now about to, by his own action and efforts, strangle his own legitimate offspring at its christening. In the final vote in the Senate, Douglas, with three other Democrats, voted against the Lecompton constitution, and in the House twenty Democrats voted the same way; the votes defeated the measure. Douglas, in his action on this measure and against the administration was endorsed by most all the Democrats of his own State, and the administration, in its efforts to defeat

him in his senatorial canvass was only able to carry a small faction against him.

This stand taken by Douglas, while he lost the support of a few administration adherents in his own State, rendered him so popular with the Republicans in the eastern States that many of them not knowing the causes and motives by which he was actuated, desired and recommended that the Republican party of Illinois should aid in returning him to the United States Senate. While this act of Douglas led the Republicans of Illinois to feel grateful for his aid in defeating this iniquitous measure, they well knew that his course was moved in that direction not by any love he had for the Republican party. Douglas was only at variance with the administration on a point of difference as to what was the act and deed of the citizens of Kansas, and the Republicans of his State, knowing well the cause and motives of his disagreement with the administration, saw in the future no probability of any further agreement or aid in the support of the measures and principles of their party, and events in the near future proved the correctness of their conclusions.

CHAPTER XIII.

SENATORIAL CONTEST OF LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

Before the close of the session of Congress in 1857-8, Douglas returned home to look after his senatorial interests and prepare for the most important and closely contested canvass of his political life. He was a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, and the Democratic State Convention of Illinois of April 21, 1858, indorsed his course and votes against the Lecompton constitution. His popularity and power over his party in his own State was fully manifested during this campaign, when all the efforts of the administration, combined with the Republicans, failed to defeat him.

The Republican State Convention met at Springfield on the 16th of June, two months after the meeting of the Democratic Convention. The convention had hardly assembled before it was evident that there was an entire unanimity for Lincoln as its nominee for the Senate in opposition to Douglas. After some preliminary business, the following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

"That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice for United States Senator to fill the vacancy about to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas' term of office."

Lincoln was prepared for this action of the convention, and posters soon announced that he would address his fellow citizens in the State House in the evening. The hall of the House of Representatives, at 8 o'clock P. M., was filled to its utmost capacity, and Lincoln was received with unbounded applause. The desire to hear Lincoln on this occasion was very great, and his speech, which was listened to with intense interest, occupied three hours in its delivery. It made no appeal to partisan prejudices, contained no tricks to win political applause. He stated the real issue of the political contest, and laid out the ground work upon which he proposed to stand and fight the battle for freedom. The first point he presented was, that in his opinion our government could not endure permanently half slave and half free. He controverted the position of the friends of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as being

founded on popular sovereignty, and fully exposed the Nebraska doctrine which was intended to mould or educate public opinion, particularly in the North, not to care whether slavery was voted up or down in the territories, and showed fully that while the inhabitants of a Territory could, under the provisions of that bill, establish slavery, they were debarred by the Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court from excluding slavery from any Territory. One point in that notable decision was, "That subject to the Constitution of the United States, neither Congress or a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States Territory." And as this Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court enters largely into the discussions of the policy of the two parties, the following is a further extract from that notable decision: "That no negro slave imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a citizen of any State in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States."

The members of the convention and the numerous audience were profoundly impressed by the address of Mr. Lincoln. His manner and his earnest appeals to their patriotic sensibilities and sense of duty carried conviction to the minds of all that he was discussing the gravest and most momentous political questions and issues of the day and age.

Senator Douglas, on the 9th of July, made his first appearance in the senatorial campaign before a Chicago audience, and his reception on that occasion was an imposing one—one that gave him pleasure which he did not strive to conceal. A few months previous he was denied a hearing, and now in the same place he was received with applause. He had voted against the Lecompton constitution, and his former sins were forgotten or not mentioned. The Senator, in his speech, reviewed the action of the late Republican Convention and Lincoln's speech on that occasion, commenting on his opinion that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. He unfairly proceeded to say that Lincoln by this advocated broadly and clearly a war of sections—a war of the North against the South—to be continued relentlessly until one or the other shall be subdued—until all the States shall become either slave or free. Following in this train of argument, which was as unfair as illegitimate, he next charged Lincoln with a desire and policy to reduce the States to a perfect uniformity of interests and institutions, contrary to policy and usages of the republic. Lincoln's criticisms of the Dred Scott decision were next treated in a manner by the Senator which was not in unison with the sentiments and feelings of the larger portion of his audience. In his remarks, he said: "I respect the august decisions of that tribunal. I shall always bow in deference to them. I am equally free to say that the reason assigned by Mr. Lincoln for resisting the decisions of the Supreme

Court in the Dred Scott decision does not in itself meet my approbation." The whole tenor of the Senator's speech was intended to misrepresent Mr. Lincoln and place him in a false light before the public. Lincoln was present, heard the whole speech, and it was announced that on the following evening he would reply to it.

The welcome Lincoln received when he took the stand the following evening was quite as enthusiastic as Douglas had received the previous evening. He was introduced by Hon. C. L. Wilson of Chicago, and when he came forward there was such a storm of loud and continued applause that he was obliged to extend his hand before he could secure silence necessary for proceeding. After treating of some minor subjects he proceeded to the points of Douglas' speech, and treated them fully and fairly. Referring to the remarks of Douglas, that he advocated a war of sections of the North against South, he said:

"The adoption of the constitution, and its attendant history, led the people to believe that slavery was in the course of ultimate extinction, and such was the belief of the framers of the constitution itself; if not so, why did the fathers declare that slavery should not go into the Territories; why declare that within twenty years the African slave trade might be abolished; why these acts and more that might be enumerated—but a clear indication that the framers of the constitution intended and expected the ultimate extinction of slavery? I have said a hundred times, and I have no desire or inclination to take it back, that I believe there is no right, and ought to be no inclination in the people of the free States to enter into the slave States and interfere with the question of slavery at all."

The charge made by Douglas that Lincoln was in favor of reducing the institutions of all the States to uniformity was by Lincoln so clearly handled and utterly demolished that the charge was not again reiterated during the campaign.

The reasons here given by Lincoln for his opposition to the Dred Scott decision were so full and conclusive that his audience manifested in the strongest manner their unison and concord with the speaker on this subject.

Lincoln had reason to be gratified with his speech and his reception by the citizens of Chicago on this occasion. His enthusiastic reception, the close attention, the favor with which his arguments were received, indicated that already a change was taking place against the further extension of slavery, in the sentiments and minds of his auditors.

This local contest for a State election was now inaugurated and opened, but at the very outset it was assuming questions of national importance. With the Republicans it was no further extension of slavery, and here Lin-

coln took his stand, while Douglas, with the Democrats, held to the Nebraska bill, leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the inhabitants of the State or Territory proposed to be admitted into the Union. How far Lincoln was moved in this contest by Presidential aspirations we are not prepared to say. That he desired and intended that his speeches should have a national reputation and effect is apparent, and that he considered the senatorial contest of secondary importance his speeches clearly indicated, as well as his replies to his friends who insisted that his intention to draw Douglas out fully on the Dred Scott decision was not politic. His friends said: "If you put that question to him he will perceive that an answer giving practical force and effect to the Dred Scott decision in the Territories will lose him the battle, and he will reply by offering the decision as an abstract principle, but at the same time denying its practical application." But, said Lincoln, "If he does that he never can be President." His friends replied, "That is not your lookout; you are after the Senatorship." Lincoln replied, "No, gentlemen; I am killing larger game. The battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

This contest of Douglas with Lincoln was a mazy and difficult one. He had inaugurated his plausible theory of popular sovereignty, and introduced and passed his Kansas-Nebraska bill—the first to please the North, the last to satisfy the South; but the untimely introduction of the Lecompton pro-slavery constitution compelled him to change his tactics in order to save his place in the Senate; and now to regain, if possible, his lost popularity in the South, he was giving in his adhesion to the Dred Scott decision—a decision utterly at variance with popular sovereignty. Douglas had, by his opposition to the pro-slavery constitution, regained, in a large measure, his popularity with his party lost by the enactment of his Nebraska bill and the opposition against him in this contest by the administration gave him sympathy even with the Republicans.

Douglas, a week after his Chicago speech, addressed the Democracy at Bloomington, and the following day at Springfield. The special points which he elaborated were his popular sovereignty notions, and his disagreement with and opposition to the administration on the Lecompton question. Mr. Lincoln was present at Bloomington during the delivery of the Senator's speech, taking notes and preparing himself for the struggle on which he had entered, and on the day following he addressed the people at Springfield at a subsequent meeting to that addressed by Douglas.

Mr. Lincoln opened his address by speaking of the disadvantages which the Republicans were subjected to by the unfair and unjust apportionment of the legislative districts, and he also referred to the disparity that existed between the reputation and prospects of the two candidates for senatorial honors. He then proceeded to say:

“The anxious friends of Douglas have been hoping, and now expect, that at no distant day he will be President of the United States. They see not far in the future postoffices, land offices, foreign missions, marshalships, and as they gaze on this beautiful picture, they are redoubling their efforts and labors to make his election sure, and in this respect Judge Douglas has me at an advantage. Nobody ever expected me to be President, and in my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen any cabbage sprouting out.”

In closing his address on this occasion, Lincoln held up to his audience in a vivid exposition the course Douglas was pursuing in being a party to conspiracy, intending to deceive the people with the plausible idea that the settlers of the Territories could exclude slavery from their borders if they chose to do so, while at the same time Douglas well knew that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, rendered it impossible for them to do so. Referring to this, Lincoln said: “This charge, which is a serious and important one, was made in my speech of June the 17th, and Judge Douglas has, up to the present, ignored it. Since it was made he has not alluded to it at all. On his own tacit admission, I now renew the charge.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SENATORIAL CONTEST CONTINUED.

The senatorial contest between Lincoln and Douglas had taken national issues, and, in a remarkable degree, was exciting the interest of both parties throughout the Union.

The Republicans of the Eastern States who had at first favored Douglas in his ardent desire to be returned to the Senate, in return for his opposition to the administration on the question of the passage of the Lecompton constitution, were now satisfied, from the published reports of the speeches of Douglas, that he would give no support to the party opposed to the extension of slavery.

Lincoln had observed with pleasure and interest the attention that was being given by the public men and press throughout the Union to the contest, and in order to bring himself more fully in contact with the Democratic voters, and to press on the auditory whom Douglas addressed, the deception and sophistry of Douglas' arguments and reasoning as to the effects of the Dred Scott decision, he was anxious to address the same audiences at the same meeting with his antagonist. To effect this desired object, on the twenty-fourth of July he forwarded the Senator the following note:

"HON. S. A. DOUGLAS—*My Dear Sir:* Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer, and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such arrangement.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN."

In reply Douglas said, "That recent events had placed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement; that he had made a series of appointments extending over nearly the whole period that remained before the election, and that candidates for Congress, the Legislature and other offices would

desire to speak at those meetings. While, therefore, he declined the general invitation, he would make an arrangement for seven joint debates in the congressional districts respectively, where they had not already spoken."

The agreement was consummated between the two champions, and the following places and times designated: Ottawa, August 21, 1858; Freeport, 27; Jonesboro, September 15; Charleston, September 18; Galesburg, October 7; Quincy, October 13, and Alton, October 15. During the period before the first appointment both parties were engaged in their independent work.

The first meeting of the series agreed upon was held at Ottawa. A large concourse of people, estimated at twelve thousand, were present. Douglas had the opening speech of one hour, followed by Lincoln of one hour and a half, and concluded by Douglas in a half hour. And this was the arrangement to be followed alternately through the series of debates. The limits of this work will not permit even in an abbreviated form a report of the speeches delivered at this series of debates. They were all printed soon after the campaign closed, without note or comment, and were read and re-read by the millions of American voters before the great political contest of 1860 closed. This great contest between Lincoln and Douglas, aside from its local issues, assumed this order: Has Congress the power under the constitution to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States; and if so, is it the duty of Congress to carry this power into effect? Lincoln assumed the affirmation of these propositions. He placed himself on the broad platform of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed with rights which are inalienable, such as life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. He held that all men, without distinction of race or color, are included in this declaration. He believed that slavery lived by the side of freedom, and in a state of sufferance with it, simply because freedom regarded itself as eternal, while it regarded slavery as ephemeral. He understood, from the history of the Republic, that it was so held and regarded by the illustrious patriots that gave us our constitution and organized our government, and in their prohibiting slavery in all the territory of the United States at that time, they anticipated and expected the end of slavery at no distant day. And now, when it was the design and policy of the government under the present administration and its supporters to nationalize slavery and make it perpetual, to give it by judicial authority more rights than freedom, and even to make it impossible for freedom or the people to abolish or overthrow it, he believed a conflict would arise which would continue until the question was settled by its extinction or its universal predominance. In this issue Lincoln was disposed to take the side of freedom, because he believed that

slavery should be restricted to the States in which it was constitutionally tolerated, and that Congress, having the power, should by appropriate legislation prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States.

Douglas assumed that the people of every Territory had the right to decide for themselves as to whether they would have slavery or freedom; that neither Illinois nor any other State had any right or interest in the decision of that question; that what those rights should be was only legitimately to be determined by the States or Territories themselves. On these points, with the side issues—the Nebraska bill, popular sovereignty, the Dred Scott decision, the abrogation of the Missouri compromise, a fugitive slave law—were the seven debates maintained and contested by the speakers. There was in those debates one particular point in which Lincoln had forced Douglas into a declaration and position unfavorable for his Presidential aspirations. In the early stage of the canvass, before the arrangements for the joint debates were made, Douglass, in a speech at Springfield, had indorsed the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court and severely criticised Lincoln's opposition to that decision. During the joint debates Lincoln so clearly showed the fallacy of Douglas' theory of popular sovereignty in connection with that decision that Douglas, in order to save himself from defeat for the Senatorship, was compelled to change his position, in answer to Lincoln's inquiry, "Can the people of a United States Territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?" The Dred Scott decision he had indorsed, and which he said he would sustain, said "no." But the political barometer had fallen, and now Douglas, in answer to Lincoln's question, says: "It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or not go into a Territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it, or exclude it as they may please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst."

It was the intention and aim of Lincoln in requesting and arranging the joint debates with Douglas, to force him into such an open declaration of slavery as to secure his defeat for the office of Senator, or, failing in this, to compel him into such declarations on behalf of freedom as would ruin him as a Southern candidate for the Presidency. This concession of Douglas to free-

dom, without doubt saved him the Senatorship, while it is equally certain that with it went the last hope for Southern support in his Presidential aspirations.

Pollard, the Southern historian, in his history of the "Lost Cause," says: "It is thus seen that Mr. Douglas has tortured the language of the Kansas-Nebraska bill into the sense that the unorganized population of a Territory might decide the question of slavery as against the States' interest of the South, thus indicating to the North that this measure might quite as easily and readily exclude slavery as the intervention of Congress, the right of which the black Republican party claimed."

The absurdity of adhering to the Dred Scott decision and advocating popular sovereignty at the same time, Lincoln showed in a single sentence, giving the whole argument. He said: "It was declaring no less than that a thing may be lawfully driven away from a place where it has a lawful right to be."

Those who have read those debates have not failed to notice that Douglas, by his artful appeals to a principle, which was only a shadow without the substance, was creating false issues, leading his audiences by appeals to their prejudices, from the real principles involved in the contest. Lincoln made no efforts to gain applause, but with zealous tenacity he mastered the great questions he had in hand, and refused in every instance to be drawn or led away from the real issues of the campaign. Thus briefly have been stated the principles of the two champions and that of the parties they represented, the merits of the controversy at issue and their methods of conducting the canvass. They attracted to their debates immense concourses of people, and the entire nation watched the contest with a solicitude and interest which indicated the national character of the issues involved. While the canvass was local, the questions and issues were national and they indicated the platforms and policies of the parties of the next Presidential contest. Politicians of the East as well as those of the South were now looking to the West with eager interest as Lincoln marshaled the young Republicans and the little giant the old Democracy, for the great contest of principles which was near at hand. It may be said that the text-book of the principles of the Republican party on the question of slavery may be found in the speeches of Lincoln delivered during this contest. They are so clear in the exposition of the principles of the Republican party, and so plain in their statement of the issues which divided it from the Democratic party at that time, that they came to be regarded as a complete and correct statement of the spirit of freedom and the purposes and power of slavery. Those speeches which Lincoln delivered in this memorable contest, with others delivered in Kansas, Ohio, New York and New England, covered the whole questions at issue

between the two parties, and form the chief superstructure on which his reputation and fame as an orator and debater stands. Viewed in the light of a contest between the power of slavery and the spirit of freedom, the judgment of mankind has long since recorded its verdict and decision that Lincoln was victorious and successful; before the people of his own State, the record shows that he received a majority in the popular vote over Douglas of four thousand one hundred and forty votes. This vote, had the people been permitted to decide the question directly, would have returned Lincoln to the Senate, but the State Legislature was the tribunal that was to pass finally upon the senatorial election, and fortunately for the country, as the future showed, but unfortunately as it appeared at that time for Lincoln, the Democrats had by an unfair districting of the State secured an advantage which could not be overcome.

In the Senate the parties stood fourteen Democrats and eleven Republicans; in the Lower House, forty Democrats and thirty-five Republicans. This secured the re-election of Douglas, but the majority against him in the popular vote took from his triumph the exultation of success. By the unfair apportionment Lincoln was defeated in the Legislature, after a contest in which the principles of the Republican party were urged with surprising power and persistence, with fairness and skill rarely, if ever, surpassed. He was conscious that he had the advantage and had worsted his opponent before the people in the moral and intellectual struggle, and when defeat came in the manner in which it did, he was disappointed. When asked by a friend how he felt after the result was known, he replied, "That he felt, he presumed, very much like the boy that stubbed his toe—too bad to laugh, and too big to cry." Much was said in those debates between Lincoln and Douglas as to what the signers of the Declaration of Independence intended when they said, "All men are created equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights," Lincoln holding that all men without distinction or color, Douglas, that only white men were intended to be included in that declaration.

The following extract from a speech delivered by Hon. A. H. Stephens (Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy) at Savannah, Georgia, in 1860, will give an honest Southern opinion and be pertinent to that disputed question:

Mr. Stephens said: "But whether Jefferson fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing idea entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution were that the enslavement of the African race was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in

principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and soon pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. The constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantee thus secured, because of the common sentiment of that day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong; they rested upon the presumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it was wrong. When the storm came and the wind blew, it fell."

Mr. Stephens lived to see that the prevailing ideas of Jefferson and the leading statesmen that formed the constitution, relative to African slavery, were received and adopted by the American people as correct, and that when the storms came and the winds blew it fell not, because it was founded on a rock.

CHAPTER XV.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

At the close of the Senatorial contest Lincoln returned to the practice of his profession. His political pursuits for the last few years had interfered materially with his professional business. He, however, retained in the higher Courts all that he desired to attend to. During the Winter of 1858-9 he received invitations from a number of lyceums to deliver lectures. For the purpose of meeting this demand, or to change the range of thought from subjects in which he had so long been interested, he wrote out in a form of a lecture, a history of inventions, beginning with those described in the book of Genesis and running through all the different ages, ending with the latest inventions. He delivered this lecture in Springfield and one other city. The effort was not a satisfactory one to himself, and probably was not attractive to the lecture going public. Delivering lectures and making stump speeches require different styles of efforts, and orators are as often as much surprised themselves as are their audiences at their failures. This failure of Lincoln in his lecture on inventions calls to mind his steamboat invention. Visitors at Washington will find, on examination in the patent office, in one of the show-cases, a little model. It is a plain, simple model of a steamboat, roughly fashioned in wood by the hands of Abraham Lincoln. It bears date 1846, when the inventor was known simply as a successful lawyer and rising politician of Springfield, Illinois. The design of the invention is suggestive of one phase of Lincoln's early life, when he went up and down the Mississippi river as a flat-boat captain, and became familiar with the difficulties and dangers attending the navigation of the Western rivers. The main idea represented by the model is that of an apparatus resembling a noiseless bellows placed on each side of the hull of the craft, just below the water-line, and worked by an odd, but not complicated system of ropes, valves and pulleys. When the keel of the boat grated against the sand-bars or other obstructions, those bellows were to be filled with air, and the vessel thus buoyed up was expected to float lightly over the shoals, which would otherwise have proved a

serious interruption to the voyage. The model, which is about twenty inches long, has the appearance of having been whittled with a knife out of a cigar box and a shingle, and is built without any elaboration of adornment, or any extra apparatus beyond that necessary to show the operation of buoying the boat over the obstructions. It is a model carved as one might expect a rail-splitter would whittle, strongly and not smoothly, and evidently made with a view solely to convey, by the simplest possible means, to the minds of the patent authorities an idea of the purposes and plans of the simple inventor. The label on the steamer's deck informs us that the patent was obtained. That little model has reposed there over thirty years, its merits not utilized. Soon after this model was deposited in its resting place, the inventor was called upon to prepare a model for the transportation of the ship of State over the shoals of secession and sand-bars of slavery, obstructions far more perilous and difficult than any dreamer had imagined or thought of when Lincoln wrote his autograph on the prow of his miniature steamer.

The private letters of Lincoln are so characteristic of his goodness of heart, and are so charmingly sincere and natural that one is given for an illustration. No one can read them without feeling that his personal friendships were the sweetest sources of his happiness. To a friend he wrote :

“ Yours of the 16th announcing that Miss —— and you are no longer twain, but one flesh, reached me this morning. I have no way of telling you how much happiness I wish you both, though I believe you both can conceive it. I feel somewhat jealous of you both now, for you will be so exclusively concerned for one another that I shall be forgotten entirely. My acquaintance with Miss —— (I call her thus lest you should think I am speaking of her mother) was too short for me to reasonably hope to long be remembered by her ; and still I am sure I shall not forget her soon. Try if you cannot remind her of that debt she owes, and be sure you do not interfere to prevent her paying it. I regret to learn that you have resolved not to return to Illinois. I shall be lonesome without you. How miserably things seem to be arranged in this world ; if we have no friends, we have no pleasures ; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them and be doubly pained by the loss. I did hope that she and you would make your home here, yet I own I have no right to insist. You owe obligations to her ten thousand times more sacred than any you can owe to others, and in that light let them be respected and observed. It is natural that she should desire to remain with her relations and friends. As to friends, she could not need them anywhere ; she would have them in abundance here. Give my kind regards to Mr. —— and his family, particularly Miss E. —— ; also your mother, brothers and sisters. Ask little E. D—— if she will ride to town with me if I come there

again. And finally, give a double reciprocation of all the love she sent me. Write me often, and believe me, yours forever, LINCOLN."

It was the 10th of May, 1859, that the first movement took form for making Lincoln the Republican candidate for President. It was at the Illinois State Republican Convention held at Decatur. Lincoln was present as a spectator. When he entered the hall he was received with enthusiasm such as is rarely accorded on any occasion. This reception left no doubt that the audience regarded his late defeat as a great triumph, whose fruits would not long be delayed. Lincoln had hardly taken his seat when Lieutenant Oglesby (since Governor and United States Senator) of Decatur announced that an old Democrat of Macon county desired to make a contribution to the convention. The offer being at once accepted, two old fence-rails, with suitable emblazonry, were borne into the convention, and bearing the inscription, "Abraham Lincoln, the rail candidate for the Presidency in 1860. Two rails from a lot of three thousand made in 1830 by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer of Macon county." Pen would fail to describe the effect on an audience already excited. After the strength of the assembly was completely exhausted in cheers, Lincoln was called upon to explain the matter of the rails, which he did by giving a history of his first work in Illinois, helping his father to build a log cabin and split rails to fence in a field of corn. It is said of Jackson that he was re-elected because he said, "By the eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved." That Harrison was elected because of log cabins and hard cider. Taylor, because he said, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg." Lincoln, because he was a rail splitter, and that Grant was elected and re-elected, because he said, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all Summer." These symbols or sayings, it is true, had but little to do with the duties or qualifications of those who were called to the Presidency. They prove, however, that when the people, the masses, take up a point or principle and make it a national watch-word, they seldom fail to succeed.

Soon after Lincoln's nomination these rails were in demand in every State in the Union in which free labor was honored, where they were borne in processions of the people, and hailed by hundreds of thousands of freemen as a symbol of triumph and as a grand vindication of freedom and of the rights and dignity of free labor. Some time previous to this the State of Massachusetts had amended her constitution, making the naturalization of foreigners more difficult, and extended the period of time required. With many letters received by Lincoln after his nomination by the Illinois convention, was one from Theodore Causins, a German citizen of Illinois, of date May 17, 1859, inquiring what were his (Lincoln's) views relative to the constitutional provisions recently adopted in Massachusetts in relation to natural-

ized citizens, and whether he favored or opposed a fusion of Republicans and other opposition elements in the approaching campaign of 1860. In reply to this letter Lincoln said: "I have no right to advise the sovereign and independent State of Massachusetts concerning her policy, but so far as I understand the provision she has made, I am against its adoption in Illinois, and in every other place where I have a right to oppose it. As I understand the spirit of our institutions, it is the design to promote the elevation of men. I am, therefore, hostile to anything that tends to their debasement. It is well known that I deplore the depressed condition of the blacks, and it would be very inconsistent for me to look with favor or approval upon any measure that infringes upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land or speak a different language from our own." To the inquiry touching the fusion of all opposition elements, he said: "I am in favor of it if it can be done on Republican principles, and upon no other consideration. A fusion on any other platform would be insane and unprincipled. There are good and patriotic statesmen in the South, whom I would willingly support if they were placed on Republican ground, but I shall oppose the lowering of the Republican standard even by a hair's breadth."

With what broad and catholic sentiments towards adopted citizens does Lincoln reply to this letter, characteristic of his principles and his entire life. How strong his appreciation of his Republican principles and platform. He felt that it was liberal and broad, on which all could unite and stand who desired the elevation of the human race, and the unity and prosperity of their common country. Lincoln had now become a representative man, and was regarded by the Republican party of the West as their candidate for the Presidency. His senatorial contest with Douglas had proven him the people's friend, the man of the people, from the people, and the champion of freedom, free soil and free labor. His statement that the battle of 1860 was worth a hundred of the senatorial contest was now understood and appreciated. The result of that contest was now bearing its legitimate fruit. It was marshaling and uniting the sons of freedom for the great battle for free soil and free labor, while the stand taken by Douglas was creating dissension in, and threatening the disruption of the Democratic party.

The movements of the Western Republicans indicated that Lincoln would be a prominent candidate for President before the Republican convention, and he, during the last of 1859 and first months of 1860, visited several portions of the Union and delivered a number of the most remarkable speeches of his life. In the last of 1859 Lincoln visited Kansas. He had a desire to see the people and State in whose behalf he had labored so efficiently

in his great contest with Douglas. He was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the people. He addressed the people at Leavenworth and at several other towns. His reception at Leavenworth was grand and magnificent. The Leavenworth *Register* said: "Never did man receive such honors at the hands of our people, and never did our people pay honors to a better man, or to one who has been a truer friend to Kansas." The following is a paragraph of his speech on that occasion:

"But you Democrats are for the Union, and you greatly fear that the success of the Republicans would destroy the Union. Why? Do the Republicans declare against the Union? Nothing like it. Your own statement of it is, that if the black Republicans elect a President you won't stand it; you will break up the Union. That will be your act, not ours. To justify it you must show that our policy gives you just cause for such desperate action. Can you do that? When you attempt it you will find that our policy is exactly the policy of the men who made our Union—nothing more, nothing less. Do you really think you are justified in breaking up the government rather than in having it administered as it was by Washington? If you do, you are very unreasonable, and more reasonable men cannot and will not submit to you. While you elect Presidents we submit, and do not attempt to break up the Union. If we constitutionally elect a President it will be our duty to see that you also submit. Old John Brown has been executed for treason against a State. We cannot object even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right. So, if we constitutionally elect a President and therefore you undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown has been dealt with. We shall try to do our duty. We hope that no section will, as a majority, so act as to render such extreme measures necessary."

CHAPTER XVI.

NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT, 1860.

In September, Lincoln was invited to visit the State of Ohio, which he did, having been preceded by Douglas; he addressed large audiences at Columbus and Cincinnati. At Columbus his speech was mainly in reply to an elaborate article that had appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, written by Douglas. At Cincinnati Douglas delivered a speech in which he discussed popular sovereignty and its kindred subjects, Lincoln receiving a share of his attention. It was in the main a renewal of the principles involved in the senatorial contest in Illinois, and the citizens of Ohio gave them large and considerate attention. These speeches were published in full in the leading papers of the day. Young Democracy here, as in Illinois, was ranging itself on the side of freedom, while the old Democrats still held to the traditions and principles of the slave oligarchy.

In February, 1860, the Young Men's Republican Club of New York city invited Lincoln to deliver an address in that city on the important questions of the day. The invitation gave Lincoln much satisfaction, as it afforded him an opportunity to make the acquaintance of the statesmen and politicians of the Eastern States, and to give them and the people a personal exhibition of those principles and their illustrations by the young Republican of the West, whose recent debates with the little giant of Democracy had created such a furor in the Western States. Lincoln accepted the invitation and arrived in the city on the 25th of February—Saturday. Arrangements were made, and Monday following it was arranged that he should speak that evening in the Cooper Institute. The announcement that Lincoln, the antagonist of Douglas, and the champion of free soil and free labor of Illinois, was to be the speaker of the evening filled the institute; and when he entered, he found the platform filled with the Republican leaders of the city and of Brooklyn. Lincoln was introduced to the large audience by the venerable Wm. C. Bryant, who said: "It is a grateful office I perform in introducing to you an eminent citizen of the West, hitherto known to you only by reputation."

Standing now in the greatest city of the nation, before and in presence of an audience composed of the learned and prominent citizens and politicians of the great metropolis, Lincoln felt doubtful of his success. If wanting in confidence at first, he soon felt that he had a most attentive and appreciative audience. His style of speech was so fresh and unique, and his manner of statement so simple, and his illustrations so proper, so appropriate and peculiar, that his audience listened with respectful and marked attention and with an interest which the intense stillness indicated. Lincoln had found an audience which gave evidence that they were listening to a speaker who was master of his subject. The speech delivered by Lincoln on this occasion required much labor in preparation. The historical events mentioned in connection with the formation of our government, and its records on the question of slavery involved much labor and research, but it was intricate and complete. Lincoln was much pleased with Mr. Bryant's statement in the day's *Evening Post* (of which he was editor): "That for the publication of such words of weight and wisdom as those of Lincoln's, the pages of that journal were indefinitely elastic." The papers of the city were full of his address, and with comments upon it the next day. The Western orator was a lion. Critics read the speech and were astonished at its pure and compact English and its faultless logic. The speech was, without doubt, the greatest speech of Lincoln's life—followed by the audience through all its close and pointed reasoning with an interest that the profoundest stillness indicated, which was only broken, at every successful point established, by vociferous and hearty applause. Numbers who entered the hall in doubt went away with their path of duty bright before them.

Lincoln remained several days in New York, making many friends, who were as much pleased with the man as they had been instructed by his speech, and amused and entertained by his peculiar sayings and conversation. During his stay in the city he received numerous invitations to speak in New England, and in response to those invitations he addressed large audiences at Hartford, New Haven, Meriden, Norwich and Bridgeport, in Connecticut, and at Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Connecticut that year went Republican against the most powerful efforts of the Democrats—a result which was due more to the speeches of Lincoln than to any other cause. After visiting his son Robert, at Harvard College, and many of the principal towns of New England, and making the acquaintance of many of her prominent citizens, he returned to Illinois. The result of this visit to the Eastern States was a marvel to Lincoln. He had become familiar with his success in his public speaking in the West, but he could not understand the marked appreciation with which his addresses were received in the East, particularly among the learned and literary men. He had learned one thing at least by

this visit, that people of the older States estimate a man by the same rule that prevails in the new States—by what he is, and what he does, and not by the knowledge he has acquired, the clothes he wears, or the blood that courses through his veins.

Soon after Lincoln returned home from the East, the Democratic convention met at Charleston, April 23. Here the Southern members met the Northern members of the Democratic party, probably not with the expectation of being able to agree on a platform and the selection of a candidate. Douglas, with his popular sovereignty, Dred Scott decision and "don't care" policy offered them the only ground of union. The Northern men said, Douglas is our man. If he has fought the Lecompton fraud and the administration, and made some concessions to freedom in order to save his place in the Senate, he will do for us. The South said, "No unfriendly legislation" should exclude slavery from the Territories. We must have a man who is fairly and squarely a pro-slavery man, with a clean record, and can subscribe to no platform that does not accord to us the full rights we claim. We must have our property protected everywhere.

Yancey was the leader of the Southern wing. He anticipated a disruption of the convention, and there is no doubt but that he intended there should be, and the old Democratic party that had been victorious on many a battle field was rent in twain. The Southern members withdrew and formed a "Constitutional Convention." This convention transacted no important business, but adjourned to meet in Richmond in June. The regular convention remained in session, and after fifty-seven ballotings, in which Douglas came near a nomination, they adjourned, to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June. The Charleston people were highly delighted with the results of the quarrel. The smiles of all the beauty of Charleston were bestowed upon Mr. Yancey and his party. They regarded this disruption of the party as insuring a pretext for disunion, which they ardently desired. The regular Democratic convention at Baltimore nominated Douglas, he insisting that they should sacrifice him rather than the party. The antagonism in the Democratic party could not be reconciled. The two sections could not agree upon a man or platform that would be acceptable to all. The friends of Douglas thought that he had deserved better treatment at the hands of the South, and saw in the division of their party the ultimate defeat of all their hopes. The Republican convention met in Chicago, June 16. The assembly was immense; the large wigwam erected would contain only a fraction of the people. Hon. George Ashmun of Massachusetts was chosen to preside over the deliberations of the convention. The platform of the party was adopted on the second day of the convention. It recognized the rights of slavery in the States under the constitution. It denounced the maxim that the constitu-

tion carried slavery into the Territories and protected it there, and declared that the condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom, and that a sound policy requires a protective tariff, etc. The platform was adopted without a dissenting voice, amidst demonstrations of enthusiasm which pen would fail to describe. On the meeting of the convention on the third day, the different candidates were nominated by their friends. Evarts of New York nominated Seward, and Judd of Illinois nominated Lincoln. Afterwards, Dayton of New Jersey, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Chase of Ohio, Bates of Missouri and McLain of Ohio were formally nominated. The voting then commenced. Maine gave nearly half her vote for Lincoln; New Hampshire, seven of her ten for Lincoln; Massachusetts was divided; Virginia gave fourteen of her twenty-two votes for Lincoln; Indiana gave her twenty-six votes for Lincoln; New York gave her seventy votes for Seward; thus the voting continued amidst intense interest and until the whole vote was cast—465, necessary to a choice, 233. Seward had $173\frac{1}{2}$; Lincoln, 102; Bates, 48; Cameron, $50\frac{1}{2}$; Chase, 49; 42 votes scattering. On the second ballot the first gain for Lincoln was from New Hampshire; Vermont followed with her entire vote; Pennsylvania followed with her vote of $50\frac{1}{2}$, which she had given to Cameron. On this ballot Lincoln gained 79 votes, receiving 181; Seward gained 11, receiving $184\frac{1}{2}$. Then came the third ballot. This was expected to be the decisive one, and the friends of Seward were fearful of the result. Pencils were in requisition and operation, and before the result was announced it was known that Lincoln had received $231\frac{1}{2}$ votes, wanting one and a half votes of an election. Carter of Ohio was up in an instant and announced four votes of Ohio from Chase to Lincoln; that decided the contest. The excitement was now at its extreme tension. Quiet and stillness for a moment seemed to prevade the immense assembly, and then, like the gathering storm which seemed to have augmented its force by its stillness, broke out in wild uncontrollable shouts of applause and enthusiasm, which can only be described by those present on the occasion. When after a time the convention became quiet, the business proceeded. Delegates from Missouri, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Virginia, California, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska and Oregon insisted on casting unanimous votes for Lincoln before the vote was declared. When the vote was declared, Mr. Evarts, on behalf of the New York delegation, expressed his regret that Mr. Seward had not been nominated, then moved that the nomination of Lincoln be made unanimous, which was seconded by Andrews of Massachusetts and Carl Schurz of Wisconsin, and it was carried. The convention then adjourned and met in the afternoon and finished its labors by the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President. The delegation from the State of New York had presented to the convention one of the most prominent statesman of the nation.

Mr. Seward had been in public life thirty years; his name and fame were as well established in the regard of the Republic as the most eminent statesmen of the age. He was known as a man of wide experience, of extended influence and of great marked ability—known and recognized as such abroad as well as at home. That his friends were sadly disappointed at the result can well be imagined. During this time, while Chicago was wild with excitement, Lincoln was at home in Springfield in constant telegraphic communications with his friends in Chicago. He was apprised of the result of every ballot. The moments passing were momentous—big with events. At last, in the midst of excitement, intense and painful, a messenger enters the office with the decisive dispatch in his hand. It said: "Mr. Lincoln, you are nominated on third ballot." He took the telegram and looked at it in silence amid the shouts and rejoicing of those around him; and rising, he said, "There is a little woman down at our house who would like to hear this. I'll go down and tell her." As soon the news reached Springfield the citizens (all of whom had a warm personal regard for Lincoln) responded to the nomination with a hundred guns, and during the afternoon thronged his house to tender their congratulations and express their joy.

On the following day, the committee appointed by the convention arrived at Springfield to inform Lincoln officially of his nomination. In the evening Mr. Ashmun, with the committee and many others, repaired to Lincoln's residence. Mr. Ashmun, on being presented, said: "I have the honor, on behalf of the gentlemen who are here present—a committee appointed by the Republican convention recently assembled at Chicago—to discharge a most pleasant duty. We have come, sir, under a vote of instructions to that committee, to notify you that you have been selected by the convention of the Republicans at Chicago as their candidate for President of the United States. I desire to present to you the letter which has been prepared, and which informs you of your nomination, and with it the platform, resolutions and sentiments which the convention adopted. Sir, at your convenience we shall be glad to receive from you such a response as it may be your pleasure to give us."

Lincoln listened to the address with a seriousness that indicated deep thought and the pressure of momentous responsibility, and after a brief pause he replied: "Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, I tender to you, and through you to the Republican Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me which you now formally announce. Deeply and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent

and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the convention—I shall by your leave consider more fully the resolutions of the convention denominated the platform, and without unnecessary delay report to you in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory and the nomination gratefully accepted. And now I will no longer defer the pleasure of taking you and each of you by the hand.”

Mr. Ashmun met Lincoln as an old friend, they having acted together in Congress while both were members of the Whig party, and the interview between them was of special interest. It may be stated as a coincidence that Mr. Ashmun, who received Lincoln's first oral and written address as a candidate for the Presidency, received the last word he ever wrote as President of the United States. The evening with the committee and citizens passed pleasantly away, and the committee retired with the impression that the standard of the party was intrusted in the hands of a great and good man. On the following week Lincoln responded to the letter which Mr. Ashmun presented him, as follows: “Sir, I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in a letter of yourself and others acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose. The declaration of principles and sentiment, which accompanies your letter, meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate it or disregard it in any part. Imploring the aid of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention, to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the nation, to the inviolability of the constitution and perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

“HON. GEORGE ASHMUN.”

Lincoln's nomination proved universally acceptable to the Republican party. Its members recognized in him a man of firm principles, of ardent love for freedom, of strict integrity and truth, and they went into the political contest with a zeal and enthusiasm which was the guarantee of victory and success.

We have in the preceding chapters given briefly an outline of Abraham Lincoln's life from his birth up to the position of a candidate for the highest office and honors in the gift of the American people. Born of humble parentage, in poverty and obscurity, early in life gathering his education and knowledge by the hardest labor and toil from the most limited sources, with none of the advantages and assistance afforded by affluence and social support, he had achieved the development of his moral and intellectual powers by the means of his own industry and integrity. With principles, early imbibed, of the most correct and humane character, and with

a noble goodness never excelled, he had outstripped his compeers in the race for honor and fame, and raised himself—one of the people—from the people, by the aid of the people, to become the champion and leader of the great national party of progress and liberal principles. His mission now was to pilot and guide the ship of State through the approaching storm of secession and disunion into the haven of perfect unity and universal political liberty and equality.

CHAPTER XVII.

RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1860.

The Republican party, of which Lincoln was the exponent, declared in its platform its purposes to protect the Southern States in all their constitutional rights, and also asserted the right and duty of Congress to exclude slavery from Territories by positive legislation. Mr. Breckenridge, representing the pro-slavery element of the Democratic party, asserted the duty of the national government by a positive exercise of its legislative and executive power to protect slavery in the Territories. Douglas, for the regular Democrats, supported the principle that the people of the Territories, acting through their Territorial Legislatures, or constitutional convention, had the same right to decide this question as any other. And Bell, for the fourth party, went into the canvass with, "The Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws," as their platform. This platform was one on which all could have united, but for the reason that the widest difference of opinion possible prevailed among the people as to its meaning. All the issues involved in these several platforms were discussed with energy and vigor, and everything on the surface indicated the usual termination of the contest—the peaceable acquiescence of all parties in the result. The election took place November 6th. In the large wigwam erected by the Republicans of Springfield for campaign purposes, the citizens assembled *en masse* after the closing of the polls, to hear the result. The telegraph was brought into requisition. The ladies of the city were present in large numbers, having prepared a sumptuous repast for all those who would be present. Soon after 9 o'clock the telegraph first from Pennsylvania announced to the expectant and waiting multitude: "Simon Cameron to A. Lincoln; thirty thousand for Lincoln." Next came Indiana, fifteen thousand Republican; next, Ohio, forty thousand for the rail-splitter; New York next, fifty thousand for Lincoln. Then came the announcement, New England solid for Lincoln; and later, Illinois, fifty thousand for her favorite son. The excitement and enthusiasm manifested on the receipt of these several dispatches baffles description. These tele-

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grams having sufficiently indicated the result, the citizens, at a late hour, repaired to their homes for rest, after hours of intense excitement and rejoicing. The result of the election was, that in the electoral college Lincoln received 180 (all of the free States except New Jersey, of which he received four votes, and Douglas three); Breckenridge, 72 (all the slave States except Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, which voted for Bell, and Missouri, which voted for Douglas). Bell received 39 and Douglas 12 electoral votes.

As soon as the result of the election was known, various movements in the South indicated purposes of resistance. Among the Republicans there was this feeling, that they had fairly, on an open declaration of principles and policy, and according to the provisions of the constitution, elected a President, and if for this the South was going to make war, the contest might come as well first as last. The incipient steps towards secession were taken, however, before the election, by the officers of the government under President Buchanan. During 1860, 115,000 muskets were removed from Northern armories to Southern arsenals by one order. The Southern forts were left without efficient garrisons unless commanded by officers who could be relied upon for the South. In the navy the efficient vessels were sent into distant waters, and President Buchanan had said that the government was powerless to prevent secession. South Carolina led off in the secession movement. A convention was called to meet December 17. It met at Charleston, and on the twentieth an ordinance was passed dissolving the Union then existing between South Carolina and the other States under the name of the United States of America. In the debates in the convention, Mr. Parker said the movement was "no spasmodic effort; it had been gradually culminating for a long series of years." Mr. Rhett declared that "the secession of South Carolina was not the event of a day; it is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years." Disclosures which have appeared since the rebellion prove clearly that the entire secession movement was concocted by conspirators who had their headquarters in Washington, and that most of them were holding offices under the government of the United States.

On the night of January 5, 1861, a secret meeting was held, at which the Senators from Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi and Florida were present. Men bound by all the solemn obligations of honor, and their oaths registered to protect, defend and preserve the constitution and government of the United States, under which they were holding office and receiving their salaries, here met in conclave to destroy what they had sworn to protect and defend. They there, by resolution, decided that their several States should secede as soon as possible; that a convention of seced-

ing States should be held at Montgomery, Alabama, not later than the 15th of February; and that the Senators and Members of Congress should and ought to remain in their seats as long as possible in order to defeat measures that might be proposed at Washington hostile to the secession movement. Davis of Mississippi, Slidell of Louisiana and Mallory were appointed a committee to carry these resolutions into effect; and in pursuance of these, Mississippi passed her ordinance of secession January 9; Alabama and Florida, January 11; Louisiana, January 26; and Texas, February 5.

This was a new era in the history of America. Thus were taken the first steps to overthrow the government and the constitution of the United States—taken from motives of personal and sectional ambition, and for the purpose of establishing a government which should be permanently and completely in the interest of slavery. The remarks of A. H. Stephens before the Georgia Legislature on the 14th of November, 1860, after the result of the Presidential election was known, are worthy of note here:

“I look upon this country with our institutions,” said Mr. Stephens, “as the Eden of the world—the paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater or more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we rashly evince passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous and happy, instead of becoming gods we will become demons, and at no distant day will commence cutting each others throats. The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you frankly, candidly and earnestly, that I do not think they ought. In my opinion and judgment, the election of no man constitutionally chosen to that high office is a sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by and aid still in maintaining the constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected puts us in the wrong. We went into this election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on this account, the record would be made up hereafter against us.”

Here we have the clear and explicit testimony of A. H. Stephens, one of the noblest and most patriotic sons of the South, nobly combating for the unity of the republic; standing with and by the constitution of his country, with the waves of secession, disunion and rebellion ready to overwhelm him, declaring to his countrymen that the grandest and noblest institutions which

had been attained in the practical working of our Union should not be madly sacrificed and destroyed, when there was no cause or provocation. These words of counsel and advice were disregarded by his countrymen, and he was borne away by the overwhelming tides of secession which culminated February 18, 1861, in the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as President and A. H. Stephens, Vice-President, of the Southern Confederacy.

Having briefly referred to events occurring in the Southern States during the three months that succeeded the election of President Lincoln, we note events that transpired at Washington during the same period. Congress met December 3, on the same day the President's message was sent in, and the debates and action of Congress during the entire session related mainly to the questions at issue between the two sections. The Southern Senators generally treated the election of November as having been a virtual decision against the rights and equality of the slave holding States. The Republican members disavowed this construction, and proclaimed their willingness to adopt any just and proper measures which would quiet the apprehensions of the South, while they insisted that the authority of the constitution should be maintained, and the constitutional election of a President should be respected. On the 8th of January the President sent a message to Congress calling their attention to the condition of public affairs, declaring that while he had no right to make aggressive war against any State, it was his right and duty to "use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal government."

On the same day, Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, resigned his office as Secretary of the Interior, because supplies were sent to Fort Sumpter. Previously, December 10, Howell Cobb resigned his office as Secretary of the Treasury, and on the fourteenth, General Cass resigned as Secretary of State, because the President refused to reinforce the forts in Charleston harbor. On the twentieth, the state of South Carolina passed her ordinance of secession. On the twenty-sixth, Major Anderson transferred his garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter. On the twenty-ninth, John B. Floyd resigned as Secretary of War, because the President would not order the return of Major Anderson, from Fort Sumpter to Fort Moultrie. During the month of January, the Senators from Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi resigned their seats in the Senate, and on the fourth of February the Senators from Louisiana followed their example. It was during this period, at one of the Cabinet meetings, that the Southern members of the Cabinet were boldly demanding that the forts at Charleston be evacuated, and the President was too weak to take a position against them. It was well that the country at that time had one man in the Cabinet who was not afraid to declare his senti-

ments. Edwin M. Stanton, Attorney-General, arose and said: "Mr. President, it is my duty as your legal adviser to say that you have no right to give up the property of the Government, or abandon the soldiers of the United States to its enemies; and the course proposed by the Secretary of the Interior, if followed, is treason, and will involve you and all concerned in treason."

For the first time in this Cabinet, treason had been called by its true name, and the men who were engaged in it were told to their faces the nature of their foul business. Floyd and Thompson, who had previously everything their own way, sprang to their feet. Holt, the Postmaster-General, took his stand by the side of Stanton; and thus strengthened by Stanton, the President determined not to withdraw Major Anderson. This act of Mr. Stanton was a noble introduction to the great work he was destined to accomplish in suppressing the rebellion. Silently and effectually had treason worked itself into all the departments of the government. Democracy, as illustrated by President Jackson, who said, "By the eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved," found no response in the heart and official measures of President Buchanan. The clarion notes of the great expounder of the constitution, who in his place in the Senate gave to the nation those words, "The Union, now and forever, one and unseparable," which thrilled the heart of the nation, had now lost significance and meaning, and disunion and treason were the prevailing spirits of the last days of a Democracy administration. Traitors meeting with no opposition from the administration, secession had become a reality. Not satisfied with securing the forts, arsenals and government buildings in the South, sending our ships of war to distant ports, securing the arms and munitions of war belonging to the Union, they had so managed the finances of the nation that the United States treasury was bankrupt, and the credit of the government in a measure destroyed. These events, crowding each other in rapid succession, created a state of uncertainty and apprehension in the public mind which unsettled business, paralyzed all industries, and to every lover of the Union the future prospect for the country was dark and gloomy in the extreme. The nation's capital was seething with treason, secession was rampant, loyalty was at a discount, the Union was dishonored and disloyalty was triumphant—and this was the state of affairs when Lincoln left Springfield for Washington to enter upon the duties of the office to which he had been elected.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM SPRINGFIELD TO WASHINGTON—THE INAUGURATION.

The session of Congress closed March 4th. It was strongly Republican in both branches, and had labored in every way consistent with its sense of justice and fidelity to the constitution, to disarm the apprehension of the Southern States, and to remove all provocation for their resistance to the incoming administration. It had passed resolutions proposing to amend the constitution so as to prevent any interference with slavery in any of the States. It had formed Governments for three Territories and passed no law excluding slavery from any one of them. It had done all that could be done to make the fugitive slave law effective. Those measures had no effect in restraining the secession movement in the Southern States.

On the 18th of February the act of secession had been accomplished; the Confederate Government was organized; the forts and arsenals of the United States in the South were in the hands of the traitors. The arms of the Government were sent from the North to the South, and the military forces of the rebellious States was being organized to enforce the act of secession. From the time of his election Lincoln had been silent as to the affairs of the country; to all he carried a calm exterior, but events were transpiring in the nation that gave him the most intense anxiety, and filled every leisure moment with painful thoughts. With deep interest he had witnessed the development of the secession scheme, and, knowing the character of the Southern leaders, he appreciated the desperate nature of the struggle upon which he was about to enter. On the 11th of February he left his home in Springfield and at the railroad depot, surrounded by a large assembly of his friends and neighbors, he bade them farewell, as follows :

“ My friends, no one, not in my position, can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved

upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

This parting address of Lincoln to his friends was telegraphed to every part of the Union. So little was his character understood, that his noble and earnest request that his neighbors should pray and ask for Divine assistance in the discharge of the responsible duties which he was about to assume, was by his enemies treated as an evidence of his weakness and imbecility. It sounded like cant to ears unaccustomed to the language of piety from the lips of politicians, but it came from a heart burdened with a sense of need, and strong in its belief that the Ruler of the Universe listens to the prayers of men.

It has been heretofore stated that Lincoln, since his election, had been silent as to his policy, and he now found that he had a difficult task before him. He was now to meet daily large assemblages of the people, eager, anxious, and expecting to hear from the President-elect as to what would be his policy towards the seceded States. This information he did not intend to give them until he could do it officially. It may be affirmed that at this time he had no policy, except so far as he intended to obey the Constitution and save the Union. The first he could do; the last he could not do without the aid and assistance of the people. His course must be shaped and controlled by events in the future, and a policy adopted to-day might be changed on the morrow.

His task was now to talk to the people, and still not to talk to them about what they most desired to know. His task now, of talking without saying anything, was a new one and one for which he had no ability or faculty. He had never been able to make a speech without saying something directly to the questions in which the people were interested and desired information, and now to evade and ignore the expectations and desires of the people was the most difficult and perplexing task of his life. To talk when policy and duty offered and required was gratifying and easy, but to talk when "silence is golden" was inexpedient and to be avoided. Hence the disadvantages under which his speeches were delivered during this journey to Washington. They were mainly in the character of interrogations or suggestions delivered to the people for their thought and reflections rather than the outlining of a policy to be adopted or pursued. The addresses were usually short and similar in character, and must be passed with few allusions and extracts.

The first point of destination was Indianapolis. The party found the city entirely devoted to the pleasant task of giving their President-elect a fitting reception. The next was Cincinnati, where he received a noble greeting. While here he was called upon by a procession of 2,000 Germans, who in their address indicated a desire of some utterance of his policy. In his response, Lincoln desired to be excused, saying: "I deem it due to myself and the whole country, in the present extraordinary condition of the country and public opinion, that I should wait and see the last development of public opinion before I give my views or express myself before the time of the inauguration. I hope at that time to be false to nothing you have been taught to expect of me." From Cincinnati the President proceeded to Columbus, thence to Cleveland, Pittsburg and Buffalo, thence to Albany, where he was welcomed by Governor Morgan of New York, to whom he made a brief response, and then he was conducted into the presence of the Legislature, where he had a formal reception. At all the cities mentioned the receptions were grand and imposing.

From Albany the President and party proceeded to New York, where the reception was such as New York City could give. Philadelphia was next reached, where the President was to raise the American flag on the anniversary of Washington's birthday. This day and this duty was alike impressive to the President-elect and the citizens assembled. Standing in the hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed and declared, where were collected the patriotism, the wisdom and the devotion to that principle from which sprang our glorious institutions, he resolved anew that its truths and principles should be perpetuated and that the labors and resolves of the fathers of the Republic should not have been in vain. And as he stepped to the platform and raised the star spangled banner, the emblem of our country's greatness and our nation's pride, and it floated gracefully in the breeze, he recognized the event as auspicious of the future, an omen of hope and trust of what was to come. At the conclusion of the ceremonies Lincoln and his party left the city for Harrisburg, the capital of the State, and visited both branches of the Legislature.

Before Lincoln left Springfield for Washington, he had intimations that plans were devised so that he should not reach the national capital alive; that a conspiracy was in existence, or being formed, to assassinate him as he passed through Baltimore. A detective had been sent from Washington, by Lincoln's friends, to Baltimore. He soon found that the plot was matured and the arrangement was that on Lincoln's arrival in Baltimore, in passing from the cars, in his carriage, to the place of reception, on a given signal he should be shot by those who should gather around his carriage in the guise of friends,

and in the confusion the guilty parties were to escape to a vessel in waiting which should convey them to Mobile. These discoveries were communicated to Lincoln by the detective at Philadelphia. In the meantime General Scott and Senator Seward, having learned that Lincoln's life would be in danger, concurred in sending F. W. Seward forward to Philadelphia, and advised Lincoln to proceed to Washington in a quiet way. This was February 21st. On the 22nd, Lincoln raised the flag on Independence Hall, visited the Legislature at Harrisburg in the afternoon and in the evening repaired to his hotel, it being understood that next morning he would leave with his family and party for Washington. He remained in his rooms until 6 o'clock and then entered a carriage, with Col. Lemon, and was driven to the railroad where a train had been provided. At 10 o'clock they arrived at Philadelphia, were met by the detectives, driven in a carriage to the Wilmington and Baltimore depot, took a sleeping car and arrived in Washington at 6 o'clock in the morning, were met at the depot by Mr. Washburn, taken in a carriage, and in a few moments he was talking over his adventures with Senator Seward at Willard's hotel. The report that Lincoln passed through Baltimore in disguise was a pure fabrication. No disguise was necessary. He retired to his sleeping berth soon after leaving Philadelphia and occupied it until he arrived in Washington. The only precaution taken was to cut the telegraph wires at Harrisburg at the moment of his departure. Friends and foes were thrown into a flurry of excitement by this unexpected arrival of Lincoln—the former, those who were not in the secret, felt humiliated that their chieftan should thus consent to enter the capital; but soon they learned that he had taken the wiser course, and his foes ridiculed his fears. Lincoln now held consultation with the Republican leaders, visited the Senate and House of Representatives, and upon the following day he was waited upon by the Mayor and city officers, who gave him a formal welcome to the city. In his brief reply, Lincoln assured the Mayor that he still and always had entertained and cherished the most friendly feelings towards the South and her institutions; that he had no desire or intention to treat the people of the slave States otherwise than as his neighbors, and that he had no intention or desire to withhold from them any of the benefits and rights of the Constitution.

On the second evening after his arrival in the city the Republican Association gave him the compliment of a serenade. Many friends and spectators were present. When called upon to respond to the courtesy, he said, "That the occasion was fitting for him to say that he came to Washington to assume the duties of the office to which he had been called by the people, with no feelings but those of kindness and good will to all parts of the Union, and that he had no disposition or desire to withhold from any State or its people

any of the rights and benefits of the Constitution," and closed with the remark, that he thought when better acquainted they would be better friends.

As the inauguration drew near, many loyal citizens and friends of the President elect repaired to Washington. General Scott was active and busy in his military preparations for the interesting occasion. Many were the forebodings and predictions that scenes of violence and bloodshed would occur. It was a state of unrest and of fearful uncertainty. Washington was full of traitors, and the leading element was hostile to Lincoln and the principles he represented. Loyal citizens all over the Union looked forward to the fourth of March with anxiety. On the day of inauguration the sun rose and shone beautifully on the city of Washington. General Scott and the city police were prepared for the occasion. The public buildings, the schools and many places of business were closed during the day, and the national flag floated in the breeze from every flag staff. Soon after sunrise, Pennsylvania avenue was filled with people, crowding their way to the capitol. At 12 o'clock Mr. Breckenridge announced the Senate adjourned without day, and then conducted Mr. Hamlin to the seat he vacated. At this time the foreign diplomats entered the Senate chamber, and took the seats assigned them. At 1 o'clock the Judges of the Supreme Court entered, with Chief Justice Taney at their head, each saluting the new Vice-President as they took their seats. At a quarter past 1 o'clock unusual excitement announced the coming of the most important personage of the occasion, the entry of President Buchanan and the President elect. A procession was immediately formed which proceeded to the platform erected at the east end of the capital for the ceremonies, in the following order: Marshal of the District of Columbia; Judges of the Supreme Court and Sergeant-at-arms; Senate Committee of Arrangements; President of the United States and President elect, Vice-President, Clerk of the Senate, Senators, Diplomatic corps, heads of departments, Governors of States, etc.

On arriving at the platform, when all had been seated, Senator Baker of Oregon arose and introduced Mr. Lincoln to the eager and expectant multitude. Mr. Lincoln then stepped to the front of the platform, and in a clear and firm voice delivered his inaugural, which was listened to with silent and profound interest and attention, while every passage alluding to the Union was vociferously and enthusiastically cheered. The Union sentiments so strongly expressed in the inaugural, and so warmly applauded and indorsed by the audience, were the first premonition of an uprising of an Union sentiment which admonished the assembly that the days of secession in Washington were numbered. At the close of the delivery of the address, the oath of office

was administered by Chief Justice Taney, and then Abraham Lincoln had become President of the United States.

Following is the inaugural address:

"Fellow Citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office. I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so.' Those that nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed forces of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretense, as among the greatest of crimes.

"I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible—that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any way endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision, by those that made it, is for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law giver is the law.

"All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause shall be delivered up, their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?"

"There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one in any cause be content that this oath shall go unkept on merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it should be kept?"

"Again, in any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be so that a free man be not, in any case surrendered as a slave; and might it not be as well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

"I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. While I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

"It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and, generally, with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these

States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

“Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract only, can it as a contract be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition, that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of the Confederation in 1778; and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a party only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity. It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

“I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the United States shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative measure direct the contrary. I trust this will not be considered as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this, there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imports; but, beyond what may be necessary for those objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States shall

be so great and so universal as to prevent competent Federal citizens from holding office, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers upon the people who object.

"While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it best to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices. The mails unless repelled will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

"The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper. And in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

"That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm or deny. But if there be such I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

"Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not the case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of

reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this nature spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

"If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must or the Government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they in turn make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it. All who cherish disunion sentiment are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadmissible; so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

"I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit; while they are also entitled to a very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government, and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess that, if the policy of the Government upon the vital question affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges.

It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them ; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended ; the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended ; and this is the only substantial dispute ; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly support the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured ; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section ; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

“Physically speaking, we cannot separate ; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other ; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face ; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or satisfactory after separation than before ? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws ? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends ? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always ; and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

“This country, with its institutions, belong to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself ; and I should, under the existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

“I will venture to add, that to me, the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a pro-

posed amendment to the constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose, not to speak of particular amendments, so far to say that, holding such a provision now to be an implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

“The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people can do this if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it comes to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of the nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people.

“By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

“My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

“If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

“If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way our present difficulties.

“In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war; the Government will not assail you. You can

have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You had no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GREAT WORK OF LINCOLN'S LIFE—DOUGLAS FOR THE UNION.

After the ceremony of the inauguration had been concluded, the address delivered and the oath of office administered, the President and ex-President were escorted to the White House. Mr. Buchanan now retired, the doors of the executive mansion were opened and thousands of the loyal citizens of the Union called to tender their congratulations.

In this hour of joy and exultation was the great burden of Lincoln's life assumed. Responsibilities grave and momentous now rested on the President, for the very life and duration of the nation was in peril; the ordinary civil duties of the President dwindled into insignificance in contrast with the important labors and duties of saving the nation's life; the dismembered and disjointed members of our grand and renowned republic must be reunited; it may be after years of toil, anguish and suffering such as no ruler had ever endured, and the labors and work must commence on the morrow; the exigences would admit of no delay. The first duty of the President was the selection of the members for his Cabinet. Wm. H. Seward was tendered and accepted the place of Secretary of State; S. P. Chase of Ohio was called as Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania was honored as Secretary of War, and Edward Bates of Missouri as Attorney-General. These men, able and national in their influence and standing, were all prominent candidates for the Presidency at Chicago, and thus the nation and the Republican party was honored by the President in a remarkable degree. The Cabinet was completed by the appointment of Wells of Connecticut as Secretary of the Navy; Smith of Indiana as Secretary of the Interior, and Blair of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

The President having selected his Cabinet, was now ready to enter upon an important and laborious work—no less than clearing all the departments of the Government of the men in sympathy with the rebellion. Secession and disunion were rampant in every branch—all offices had been filled with men in entire sympathy with treason and were so infused with its malignant

spirit that no measure could be discussed or adopted by the new administration that was not reported to the rebels by some of the clerks or subordinates. The places thus held and disgraced were to be filled with loyal men who would secure respect for the Government, and who would be faithful to the oaths and obligations they had taken. To fill these places was not an easy task, but it was done promptly, wisely and effectually. This important duty having been performed, the President now took time to look into and fully comprehend the situation. His inaugural address gave satisfaction to the loyal people in the free States. Some of the more radical thought there was not sufficient positive policy in it, while in the border States its reception was considered conciliating and pacific by the Union citizens; but in those States, as elsewhere in the South, the secession leaders and the disloyal press gave it the most virulent and hostile denunciation and misrepresentation. But its Union sentiments, the conciliatory pacific spirit which it foreshadowed, its appeal to the patriotism of the people, its entire absence of aggressive policy fell like a withering incubus upon the policy and leaders of the rebellion. It was so much at variance with what they had been telling and teaching their people, that some new policy must be adopted. How this new policy was inaugurated and its principles promulgated and the returning Union sentiment smothered and destroyed, will be understood by giving the statements made by Jeremiah Clemens, formerly United States Senator from Alabama, at a Union meeting held at Huntville, Alabama, March 13, 1861. He said: "I was in Montgomery and called upon President Davis. Mumminger, Leroy Pope, Walker, Gilchrist and others were present. As I entered, the conversation ceased. The conversation was evidently about taking Fort Sumpter. Two or three of the parties withdrew to a corner of the room. I heard Gilchrist say to the Secretary of War: 'It must be done; delay two months and Alabama stays in the Union. You must sprinkle blood in the face of the people.'" The sprinkle was made at Fort Sumpter, then came showers, then torrents of blood, deluging our peaceful land.

During the lull in the national affairs after the inauguration the President was not idle; he was engaged in the most exhaustive labors; he found the treasury bankrupt; money must be provided for the support of the Government, and the credit of the nation must be restored. The arsenals of the loyal States were rifled; arms and munitions of war must be manufactured and provided for defense, our vessels of war must be called home, our Government must be represented abroad by men of loyal sentiment and feeling, and influences must be brought to bear which would secure respect for the Government and a true and correct understanding of the controversy between the loyal and disloyal States.

The rebel confederacy now found that it must make progress or fail, and on the 12th of March two commissioners—Forsyth of Alabama and Crawford of Georgia—were sent and presented themselves at the State department at Washington, stating that they were duly authorized to conclude a treaty with the United States. They knew, of course, that they would not be received as such, and they knew also that they ought to be arrested for treason; but they had ascertained that the President was a merciful man, and there was great forbearance in his nature. The President sent them a copy of his inaugural for them to study, and they lingered about Washington unmolested, learning what they could and in daily communication with the secessionists, until the 8th of April, when they returned to the rebel confederacy and reported that they had exhausted all peaceful measures for the adjustment of the difficulties.

On the 8th of April an authorized messenger from President Lincoln informed General Beauregard and Governor Pickens of South Carolina that provisions would be sent to Fort Sumpter peaceably or otherwise. General Beauregard immediately telegraphed to L. T. Walker, rebel Secretary of War at Montgomery. The reply was: "Demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumpter," which demand was made by General Beauregard, who was at once informed by Major Anderson that his sense of honor and his obligation to his Government forbid his compliance. On the night of the same day General Beauregard wrote to Major Anderson that if he would state the time at which he would evacuate Fort Sumpter, "We will abstain from opening fire upon you." At half-past 2 o'clock in the morning Major Anderson replied that, "He would evacuate the fort at noon on the 15th, unless he should receive supplies or controlling instructions from his government." In reply to this note he was notified at half-past 3 o'clock that fire would be opened by the rebel batteries in one hour from that time. Beauregard, true to his notice, at half-past 4 o'clock, A. M., opened with his batteries on the fort. After sustaining a long and terrific bombardment of thirty-three hours and a gallant but feeble defense by a small and famished garrison, Major Anderson was compelled to lower his country's flag and surrender the fort into rebel hands.

Thus, April 12, 1861, was the commencement of the civil war, and this act was consummated April 14 by an insult to the national flag, such as the country had never witnessed. The star spangled banner, the glorious emblem of our country's unity and greatness, honored at home and respected abroad, was lowered to traitors and disgraced by rebel hands. It was a national humiliation, but it was the birth of loyalty, the resurrection of patriotism; it lighted the fires of liberty, unity and love of country at every hearthstone and in every hamlet; it was a sudden, a universal uprising of

the people; patriotic impulses and feelings united all in thought, purpose and determination that the national insult must be avenged.

Fort Sumpter was surrendered and evacuated by Major Anderson on the 14th of April, 1861. The time for action the President felt and realized had arrived. On the 15th of April he issued a proclamation calling upon the loyal States for seventy-five thousand men to protect the national capital and suppress such combinations as had been made to resist the enforcement of the laws of the United States; also for both Houses of Congress to assemble at Washington on the 4th of July. The men of the nation were taking sides for or against the Union. Bell and Breckenridge went with the Southern confederacy, while Douglas gave his influence and voice for the Union. On Sunday, the 14th of April, the people were wild with excitement under the effect of the news of the fall of Fort Sumpter. The secessionists were jubilant, loyal men sad and indignant, churches were forsaken, and the opening of the war was the only topic of thought and conversation.

The President's proclamation calling for volunteers was written on Saturday, the 13th of April. On Sunday a number of the prominent Union men called at the Executive Mansion to confer with the President relative to the important crisis. The President was uneasy and solicitous. Would he have an earnest and patriotic response to his call? Would the citizens of the free States rise up *en masse* to maintain the integrity and perpetuity of our republic, and would the President have the support and co-operation of the Democratic party in the North in his policy for the unity and perpetuity of the national Government? These were important questions and were freely canvassed. The President was anxious to secure the support and co-operation of Senator Douglas in his measures for the suppression of the rebellion. This he desired; and this only he expected. The President felt that could the Senator be induced to give some public declaration to accompany his proclamation, in which the Senator would sustain the President in his efforts to preserve the Union, it would be a tower of strength for the cause of the Union. It was understood that Hon. George Ashmun of Massachusetts, late President of the Chicago Convention, and a personal friend of Senator Douglas, would call on him that evening and obtain from the Senator a public declaration that he would support the Government in its efforts to preserve the Union. Mr. Ashmun found the Senator engaged with a number of friends discussing the situation of the national affairs. They soon retired, and then for a time Mr. Ashmun discussed with the Senator the emergency of the nation's affairs, and urged that a public declaration of the Senator's views and sentiments as to the stand and position the administration should take, would give much strength and encouragement to the friends of the Union. The replies of the Senator were not favorable to the arguments of Mr. Ashmun, who urged him to go to the President

and assure him that he would support and sustain him in all necessary measures which the immediate wants of the country and the pressing necessities of the situation demanded. The Senator said: "Mr. Lincoln has dealt hardly with me in removing some of my friends from office, and I don't know that he wants my advice or assistance." Mr. Ashmun replied that the present question and the situation of the country was above all party consideration, and that the Senator had now the power and opportunity to render such a service to his country as would not only give him a claim and title to its lasting gratitude, but would show that in the hour of his country's extremity and need he could trample all party considerations and resentments under foot; and, said he, "I may say that thousands of your friends are now awaiting your public action in accord with the administration on this question, to take sides for the Union." Mrs. Douglas, who was present during this interview, arose at this juncture and walked across the room, and laying her hand tenderly on the shoulder of the Senator, in her kind and affectionate way, said: "I am sure, Stephen, in this matter you can and will lay aside all party and personal feelings, and that you will go with Mr. Ashmun to the President and tell him frankly that in his efforts to save our Union he shall have your earnest support." These words of an earnest and tender wife were not spoken in vain; he could not withstand that better nature to which they had appealed. He arose and said to Mr. Ashmun that he would accompany him to see the President. They found Mr. Lincoln alone, and he gave them a most cordial welcome. Now for the first time in life were the two great champions of the two great parties united in purpose and heart. After some conversation relative to the present condition of the country, the President took up his proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand men, which he would issue the next day, and read it. When he had finished, Mr. Douglas arose from his seat and said, "Mr. President, I cordially concur in every word of that document, except that instead of seventy-five thousand, I would make it two hundred thousand; you do not know the dishonest purposes of these men as well as I do." He then pointed out to the President, on a map hanging in the room, the principal points that should at once be occupied. Among the most prominent were Fortress Monroe, Washington, Harper's Ferry and Cairo. He then insisted that a firm, energetic course should be pursued until the stability of the Union should be secured and the national honor vindicated. "Let there be," he said, "no concession to treason—no compromise with traitors." The President, with a burden lifted from his shoulders, listened with interest and pleasure to the Senator's counsel and suggestions, and the interview closed with a perfect unity in a patriotic purpose. Mr. Douglas said, before leaving the President, that he would write an account of the interview to accompany the President's proclamation. It was as follows:

“Mr. Douglas called on the President this evening and had an interesting conversation on the present condition of the country. The substance of the conversation was that while Mr. Douglas unalterably opposed the administration in all its political issues, he was prepared to sustain the President in the exercise of his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, maintain the Government and defend the Federal capital. A firm policy and prompt action were necessary. The capital of our nation was in danger and must be defended at all hazards, at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future without reference to the past.”

These patriotic utterances of Senator Douglas were exemplified in his devotion to the cause of his country during the brief remainder of his life. In a few days after his interview with the President he was on his way home to Illinois. His address to his countrymen on the route, before the Legislature of Illinois and before his fellow citizens at Chicago, were listened to with great attention. As the enthusiastic patriot speaks, party fealty and party policy were ignored, while unity and the Union were the watchwords. In May he was taken sick, and died June 3. His last words were a wish for the honor and prosperity of his country through the defeat and dispersion of its enemies. The death of Senator Douglas was a national calamity, and the President regarded and fully realized it as such.

The patriotic stand taken by Senator Douglas for the Union carried with it the loyal Democratic element, the influences of which may be estimated when we recollect that in the popular vote Douglas received 1,365,976 votes, and Breckenridge and Bell received 1,488,584 votes. He uttered many patriotic sentiments after his interview with the President, among which was this one, in one of the last letters he ever wrote: “We should never forget that a man cannot be a true Democrat unless he is a true and loyal patriot.” These and similar sentiments uttered by the great champion of Democracy were received and treasured up as precious legacies by his followers, and on the call of the President for men to defend the national capital and assert the supremacy of the laws of the nation, they rushed to the rescue, vying with their Republican opponents in their devotion to the Union and the perpetuity of the republic.

It is a pleasure to say that during the dark and bloody days of the rebellion, in the hospitals, filled with our wounded and dying soldiers, was seen Mrs. Douglas, in her weeds of mourning, in acts of love and mercy ministering to the wants and sufferings of the Union soldiers—nor were the boys in gray passed by or forgotten in her labors of mercy and patriotism.

CHAPTER XX.

UPRISING OF PATRIOTISM—OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The issue of the President's proclamation created the utmost enthusiasm throughout the country. It was a sublime spectacle to see a people thus united in thought and purpose, and to realize that underneath all divisions of party and sect there was a love of country which made us united, and that would hold us united as a nation and a republic. The President's action was timely, as it was necessary. The loyal citizens everywhere realized and fully comprehended that the great struggle of slavery for supremacy was now at hand. "Better it should be settled by us, and now, than by our children," was the loyal cry and feeling everywhere.

In the midst of the loyal enthusiasm there was not an entire unanimity of opinion as to the measures and methods that should be pursued to suppress the rebellion. There were many who said the President should have called for two or three hundred thousand men and crushed out the rebellion at once. Those men seemed to have forgotten that a Democratic administration had left the Government in a helpless condition—loyal hands and hearts were willing, but the rebels had secured most of the arms of the Government, and that in the loyal States there was only sufficient to arm those called for in the proclamation. The outgoing administration had left the Treasury bankrupt, which made it necessary that credit should be established and funds provided before large bodies of troops could be organized and provided for. There were questions of public policy which must be considered. The President's policy was defensive, not aggressive. Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Arkansas were still in the Union, and the President's call was for men "to protect the capital, and suppress such combinations as had been made to resist the enforcements of the laws of the United States." Massachusetts was the first to respond to the President's call. Within twenty-four hours after the issue of his proclamation her sixth regiment, fully equipped, started for the national capital; two more regiments took their departure within forty-eight hours. The sixth, on its way to Washington, on the 19th of April was attacked in Baltimore by a mob bearing a secession flag, and a number of

its members were killed and wounded. This insane and unnatural act of the secessionists of Baltimore added still more to the wrath and indignation of the Union citizens. The loyal citizens of the Union felt outraged that the national troops should be assailed and murdered on their way to defend and protect the capital of the nation. General Hicks of Maryland occupied a very difficult position—he was a Bell and Everett man, “and for the Union.” His people threatened him, and he was vacillating. They would have no more troops pass through Baltimore. He applied to the President for relief in his emergency. The President assured him that the Government must have troops for the protection of the capital, but that for the present the troops would avoid Baltimore and come by the way of Annapolis.

The rebels had anticipated the secession of Maryland, and at the outbreak of the rebellion a majority of its citizens were disloyal, but they were held by a controlling Union sentiment which became predominant, until before the close of the war her citizens declared for emancipation and abolished slavery. Four days after the President’s call for troops, he issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. This call for troops and the establishment of a blockade were the preliminaries of the most remarkable and closely contested war that is recorded in the history of the human race—a contest which, for the number of men engaged, the extent of country traversed, of coast line blockaded, amount of war material consumed and results achieved, has no parallel in the history of the world. The attitude of the North and South at this period presented a strong contrast. On one side was rampant treason and a policy of aggressive war already inaugurated; on the other, patient forbearance and the most considerate care not to take any step not absolutely necessary to the security of the indispensable rights of the Government. Loyal men could find no fault with the President for claiming too much, or being harsh with those “erring sisters” who it was thought by some might yet be led back to their allegiance. The call by the President for troops to defend the capital of the nation was a little too much for the “mother of Presidents,” so on the 17th of April Virginia went out from the Union, as far as she could, by a convention vote of eighty-eight to fifty-five; and on the 21st of May the Confederate Government was transferred to Richmond, and the sacred soil of Virginia from that time was to be devoted to battlefields, fortifications, military camps and untimely graves. North Carolina and Arkansas soon followed. Tennessee made the attempt with partial success. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri remained faithful to the Union. With the disloyalty of Virginia and the removal of the rebel capital to Richmond, went the last lingering hope of the President

that intestine war could be averted, and that coercive measures would not be necessary to preserve the integrity of the Union.

On the 29th of April the Confederate Congress met at Montgomery, when President Davis sent that body a message which was intended to be a justification of himself and the rebel cause before the country and the world. It was a document plausible in his theory of State rights, and presented the Southern doctrine of secession in its most favorable light. Mr. Davis held that the States were sovereign, and the United States essentially subject, therefore when any State had a plausible pretext for dissolving its union with the other States, it had a right to do so. Mr. Lincoln maintained and upheld the principle that the Union was sovereign and indivisible, and the States subject, and that any attempt of individuals to dissolve and destroy the Union by or through a combination of a State or States, was treason.

The approach of the rebel forces towards Washington rendered it necessary that President Lincoln should take offensive operations. On the 3d of May he issued a call for forty-two thousand volunteers to serve for three years; twenty-two thousand for the regular army, and eighteen thousand for the navy. A quick response was made, and the demand for volunteers was soon answered in excess. On the 27th of April the blockade was extended to include the States of Virginia and North Carolina. One of the first and most important duties of the President after the selection of his cabinet, was to define the position that would be assumed by our Government towards foreign nations on questions that might arise relative to the rebellion. Secretary Seward, in his letter of instructions to our minister at the court of St. James (Mr. Adams), under date of April 10, very distinctly defined the attitude the President intended to pursue. [The limit of these pages precludes an entry of any considerable length on this subject; a brief extract from Mr. Seward's letter must suffice, and will show the position of our Government.] Mr. Seward said: "If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find Her Majesty's Government tolerating the application of the so-called seceding States for recognition, or wavering about it, you will not leave them for a moment in doubt or to suppose that they can grant that application and remain friends of the United States. You may assure them promptly in that case that if they determine to recognize they may at the same time prepare to enter into an alliance with the enemies of this republic. You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the Government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations or of mankind."

The firm and decided stand taken by the President in the instructions of Secretary Seward to Minister Adams, prevented the rebel Government from receiving a full recognition from the British Government, which President Davis expected and desired. Our Ministers at the Court of France and at all the Foreign courts received similar instructions. The Court party and aristocracy of Great Britain were, and long had been, jealous of the growth and rising power and prosperity of the United States. This disruption of the republic was looked upon by them with favor, and the cry of the South that "cotton is king," and the promises and inducement held out to them by the Southern confederacy was that on their recognition their factories and looms would be supplied with that article on much better terms than from the United States. These representations and promises created a strong party in Great Britain, whose sympathies in the first years of the war were with the South. The firm, positive stand taken by our Government, and the strong anti-slavery sentiment of a large portion of the English people held their Government ostensibly on the side of freedom. And still, notwithstanding their professions of neutrality, they indirectly gave aid and comfort to the rebels, for which in after years they were called to an account by our Government, and for their actions and conduct they paid justly and dearly. France, by her recognition of the belligerent rights of the Confederate States, evinced her sympathy for the rebels, but her embroglio with Mexico and the firm position of our Government restrained her Government from giving aid directly to the enemy. Spain continued friendly. Her possessions near the South and the fillibustering experience she formerly had with her neighbors rendered her indifferent to the appeals of the rebels for aid. Russia and Germany, old friends, remained true and faithful to the Union.

Called by the President, Congress met July 4, 1861. The Republicans had fourteen majority in the Senate, and seventy-two majority in the House, and of the opposition, five Senators and twenty-eight members supported the President to preserve the Union. The President in his first message to Congress first made a statement of the rebellion and its progress from its commencement up to the period of his communication to that body. The doctrine of State rights, State sovereignty, the right of secession, was reviewed and dwelt upon at length, and was intended as a reply to the message of Mr. Davis, and to place before the people of the United States, and before the world whose Governments and people were sitting in judgment on the case, the reasons for and the grounds of the national struggle for the suppression of the rebellion. The President recommended that Congress make the contest a short and decisive one, by placing at the control of the Government 400,000 men and \$400,000,000, stating that a right result at the right time would be worth more to the world and nation than ten times that number of men and

amount of money. Congress was willing to do more than the President asked for or even desired. They voted five hundred millions of money and authorized him to call out half a million of men. The financial recommendations of Secretary Chase were adopted and a moderate confiscation act was passed. Congress also legalized all measures taken by the President for the suppression of the rebellion, and labored in all ways to strengthen his hands and encourage his heart. A resolution offered by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, which was adopted, asserting that the war was forced upon the country by the disunionists of the South; that Congress, with no feeling of resentment, would only recollect its duty to the whole country; that the war is not waged in the spirit of oppression or subjugation or of interfering with the established institutions, but to defend and maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union with all the equality and rights of all the States unimpaired, and that as soon as these objects were accomplished the war would cease. This resolution was adopted with only two dissenting votes. It was received with favor by the loyal citizens of the border States, but with the rebels it was like pouring water on a red-hot iron—a hiss only was returned.

To the disinterested observer it would seem that the apothegm, "Whom the Gods will to destroy, they first make mad," would apply with peculiar force and significance to the leaders of the rebel conspiracy. They were now standing before the world and in the light of history without a reasonable excuse or apology that would be received as a justification or a vindication before an impartial tribunal. The President, by his christian forbearance, by his acts as well as his words, had said to the rebels: "The Government will not assail you." From the time he uttered those words and took his solemn oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and Government, his words and actions had been pacific. He claimed only that the Union of the States must be preserved and that the laws must be respected and observed, and if a war came to secure this, upon the conspirators and leaders of the rebellion must rest the responsibility for a civil war, with all the terrible train of violence, sorrow and suffering, and the devastation of country and homes which would follow in a war thus inaugurated.

CHAPTER XXI.

CALIFORNIA LOYALTY TO THE UNION.

The position that California would take in the great national struggle for the perpetuity of the Union was to the President, at the outbreak of the rebellion, a matter of much anxiety and solicitude. How far the insidious and seductive proposals of a Pacific republic, or the more unnatural project of a Southern confederation for the propogation of slavery would lead her citizens had yet to be demonstrated. The vote at the Presidential election being nearly equally divided between the three great parties rendered the question a matter of some uncertainty. That there was a strong party in the State hostile to the administration and in sympathy with the South and the rebellion, was as well known at Washington as in the Golden State. And it was also well known that the leaders of that party were in favor of disunion, and were taking measures to carry into effect their nefarious designs in that direction. The loyal citizens fully realized the condition of affairs. They were also apprized that the chief officer of the Federal troops in command on the Pacific Coast was in full sympathy with the seditious sentiments. The President was early apprized of the disloyal sentiments of the commanding officer, and measures were at once taken to relieve him, and place the department in charge of one whose loyalty to the Union was known and undoubted.

Early in March, General Sumner, under instructions from the war department, was ordered to proceed at once by steamer to San Francisco, and immediately on his arrival there, to relieve A. S. Johnson of his command of the department of the Pacific. The sudden arrival of the old general and the prompt and abrupt discharge of his orders was at the time a subject of much comment. The loyal citizens were elated and jubilant, while the disloyal were equally silent and despondent. General Johnson was ordered to report at the headquarters of the military department at Washington, but he chose rather to resign his commission in the army, which he did in May, and made his way through the wilderness of Arizona and New Mexico to join the

Southern confederacy; and in April, 1862, he fell mortally wounded in the battle of Shiloh. The fires of patriotism which had been fanned to a flame in the Atlantic States by the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumpter, were burning brilliantly and lighting up the valleys and plains of the Golden State. The Union party in California was gathering strength every day. The Douglas Democrats, following the example of their illustrious and patriotic leader, were taking sides for the Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws, and all were anxiously awaiting the State election which was to take place in September. The State was fully canvassed, and the result was that Leland Stanford, Republican candidate for Governor, received 55,935 votes; John Conness, Union Democrat, received 30,954 votes, and J. R. McConnell, secessionist, 32,782 votes. A Legislature was elected nearly Union, as will be seen by the vote for Speaker of the House and for President of the Senate *pro tem*. A short extract from Governor Stanford's inaugural will indicate the Union sentiment in the State at that period. He said: "Every citizen of California must remember his duty, and in remembering discharge it faithfully. Our fellow citizens are now in the field armed against traitors and treason, and for the preservation of the Union and the national Government. The whole power of the State should, if necessary, be wielded to encourage, support and sustain their patriotic citizens and their compatriots. Let treason meet a just and speedy punishment, and may we soon, as I doubt not we shall, see peace restored to our beloved Union, our institutions more firmly implanted than ever, and sustained by a national sentiment that shall pervade every section of our country." The members of the Legislature elected at the election before mentioned, and the succeeding one, fully represented the Union sentiment in California. The Union Democracy represented by Conness of El Dorado, Higby of Calaveras, Shannon of Plumas, McNabb of Sonoma, Hill of Santa Barbara and others equally loyal to the Union, with the Republicans, February 10, 1863, elected Hon. John Conness United States Senator, he receiving ninety-eight votes; opposition sixteen votes.

This wonderful uprising of the people of California in favor of the Union and the enforcement of the laws of the nation was a subject of exultation and gladness in the loyal States. At the outbreak of the rebellion loyalty was a latent, not an active sentiment in California. Separated from the Atlantic States by magnificent distances and by barriers almost insurmountable, the people on the Pacific shore were in a measure isolated from their Eastern friends, unacquainted with the immediate causes, and had comparatively a limited knowledge of the questions which in the Eastern States so stirred the public mind. The admission of California into the Union as a free State had settled at once and for all time the question of slavery on the shores of the

Pacific; and consequently, the people felt less interest in the extension of slavery than was manifested by the people of the Western and Atlantic States. In this apparent want of interest and concern in that question, paramount to all others, the people were not wanting in their devotion to the Union, their reverence for the laws and their veneration for the old flag, the national emblem of our country's grandeur and greatness. When the Union was menaced, the flag dishonored and the laws of the nation violated and disregarded, there came a burst of patriotic resentment and love of country which made us an undivided nation. The people were being moved and their patriotism stirred by the loyal eloquence of freedom's champion, Colonel E. D. Baker. From one of his many speeches delivered to interested multitudes in California, we give an extract, a tribute to freedom. He said: "Here, then, long years ago I took my stand for freedom, and where in my youth my feet were planted, there my manhood and my age shall march; and for one, I am not ashamed of freedom, I know her power. I rejoice in her majesty. I walk beneath her banner. I glory in her strength. I have seen her again and again struck down on a hundred chosen battlefields. I have seen her friends fly from her. I have seen her foes gather around her. I have seen them bind her to the stake. I have seen them give her ashes to the winds, regathering them again that they might scatter them more widely. But when they turned to exult, I have seen her meet them face to face, clad in complete armor of steel and brandishing in her strong right hand a flaming sword, red with unsufferable light; and therefore, I take courage in the thought that the people have gathered around her once more. The genius of America will at last lead her sons to freedom." This extract is from his last speech in California, delivered while on his way from Oregon to Washington to battle in the Senate, and to lead the brave sons of New York on the battlefield in defense of freedom which he had so beautifully eulogized.

Again, at a Union mass meeting held in New York, he said: "And if, from the far Pacific, a voice feebler than the feeblest murmur upon its shores may be heard to give you encouragement and hope in the contest, that voice is yours to-day. And if a man, whose hair is gray, who is well worn out in the battle of life, may pledge himself on such an occasion as this and before such an audience, let me say as my last word, that when amid sheeted fire and flame I saw and led the hosts of New York (at the battle of Cerro Gordo) as they charged in contest upon a foreign soil for the honor of your flag, so again, if Providence shall will it, these feeble hands shall draw a sword never yet dishonored—not to fight for distant honor in a foreign land—but to fight for country, home, for law, for Government, for Constitution, for right, for freedom, for humanity, and in hope that the banner of my country may advance, and

wheresoever that banner waves there glory may pursue and freedom be established." These thrilling words of patriotic eloquence of the "Gray Eagle of Republicanism" (a title earned and given in California) will long be remembered by those that heard them.

Three months from that time, at the head of his regiment raised in New York city, he fell in the battle of Ball's Bluff in the defense of freedom, and that flag and country which had honored him so highly and which he loved so well. On the death of Senator Baker, President Lincoln suffered keenly and deeply, as he was an intimate and valued friend. The President said: "The keenest blow of all the war was at an early stage, when the disaster of Ball's Bluff and the death of his beloved Baker smote him like a whirlwind from the desert." He who had so eloquently and loyally represented the Union party and sentiment on the Pacific Coast was borne back on "his shield" to the Pacific shore, his home and the land of his adoption, and the people he loved so well. And as the impressive funeral cortege of the gallant soldier and statesman passed through the silent and solemn streets of San Francisco to Lone Mountain cemetery, the mournful stillness, the solemn sternness which rested on the people indicated the causes which had produced this sorrowful occasion, and told how deeply his memory and the principles for which he gave his life were enshrined in their hearts.

The fires of patriotism and freedom were burning brightly on California's golden shores, when the apostle and advocate of liberty and humanity, Starr King, whose eloquence fanned into a flame more bright and effulgent the loyal patriotic sentiments of the people as they had never been stirred before. He visited different parts of the State, and before large, attentive and interested audiences he kindled anew the fires of patriotism in all places he visited by his patriotic eloquence and unanswerable arguments. He labored with all the energy and powers of his great humane and comprehensive mind for the unity of the republic and the maintenance of its laws. His labors in the cause of the United States sanitary commission were equally earnest and effective. He considered it the most humane and most magnificent scheme of charity the world had ever known, and efficiently labored to advance and promote its success and interests. Here was the opportunity by which the loyal citizens manifested their devotion and love for their country. Long will be remembered his patriotic and eloquent speeches in Platt's Hall, San Francisco, and in other places in the State in behalf of this noble charity, and the loyal liberality of the people in pouring into the lap of this grand commission their hundreds of thousands of golden eagles. The munificent liberality of the citizens of California won the admiration of the loyal States, and the wonder of the civilized world. This noble generosity of the golden States and the firm union stand taken by the California representatives,

Sargent, Phelps and Low, in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and Cole, Higby and Shannon in the House, and Conness in the Senate, in the Thirty-eighth Congress, were often mentioned by the President in conversation with his friends as one of the most pleasing and gratifying manifestations of devotion to the Union and promising indication of the success of the right, which he received during his first administration.

The isolation of California and the great distance from the Atlantic States deprived the people of that State of the opportunity of assisting by her citizen soldiers in a great measure in the struggle for the suppression of the rebellion. But her citizens were not wanting in zeal and enthusiasm in the loyal cause, and in whatever way they could prove their loyalty they did it heartily. As required by the national Government, two regiments of cavalry and five of infantry were organized. In 1861, a regiment of infantry and a battalion of cavalry marched across the plains into New Mexico and held that Territory for the Union; a portion were sent East by steamer, and did good service, and the residue served on the Pacific Coast. California expressed her desire, through the loyal press and her representatives, to furnish her full quota for active service; but for reasons stated, the administration declined the proffered aid to any considerable extent; but many of her citizens, anxious to serve in the Union army, left their business and went East and entered the service in the Eastern States.

At a parting interview with the President on the 21st of March, 1865, a few days before his assassination, I remarked, "I leave this evening for California, and it would give me pleasure to bear the intelligence to her citizens that at no distant day you would visit our golden State, and I can assure you that you will find warm and loyal hearts who will give you a generous welcome." The President said, as he took me by the hand, "I have long desired to see California; the production of her gold mines has been a marvel to me, and her noble stand for the Union, her generous liberal offerings to the sanitary commission, and her loyal representatives she has sent to labor for the preservation our nation have endeared your people to me, and not anything would give me more pleasure than a visit to the Pacific shore, and to say in person to your citizens, 'God bless you for your devotion to the Union,' but the unknown is before us. I may say, however, that I have it now in purpose, when the railroad is finished, to visit your wonderful State."

CHAPTER XXII.

BATTLE AT BULL RUN—APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL M'CLELLAN.

The rebellion found the Government no less prepared to meet it than it found the people wanting in military knowledge and experience. None seemed to doubt but that the rebellion might be put down in a few months. While the loyal citizens were ready and desirous to aid the Government by furnishing men and money required for the security of the Union and subduing the rebellion, they became impatient at the apparent tediousness of the military movement. This impatience of the people as well as that of the loyal press for a time, was one of the difficulties the administration had to endure and contend with during the first years of the war. The President had a proper respect for the wishes and opinions of the people, and the design and efforts of his administration were so to direct and lead the people that they would be prepared and ready to act when he acted and to give support and aid to the measures of his administration when they were ripe for execution. On the first of May the safety of the national capital was assured. Fortress Monroe was reinforced, Cairo was occupied by the Government forces, and the military and naval operations were being enlarged. The first by the organization of the different military departments, and the second by measures taken to more effectually close the Southern ports.

At this time secessionists were plotting in St. Louis to seize the Government arsenal and arms in that city. General Lyon promptly thwarted the scheme and secured the arms for the Union forces. The rebel forces were concentrating at Manassas, and rebel troops held Harper's Ferry. General Butler was in command at Fortress Monroe with a force of twelve thousand men. On the 10th of June occurred the first considerable battle of the war at Big Bethel, the result of which was not favorable to the Union forces. On the 24th of May General Mansfield, with the Union troops, crossed the Potomac from Washington thirteen thousand strong, and were set to work in the erection of forts for the defense of Washington. On the 17th of June Western Virginia repudiated the ordinance of secession of Virginia and in

convention formed a new State Government and appointed F. H. Pierpon Governor. This was the first step towards "reconstruction," and the movement was with the direct approval and sanction of the President. Secessionists were there, and rebel troops had been sent from old Virginia to Western Virginia to hold that part of the State and the people to the Southern confederacy.

Early in June a campaign was arranged for the expulsion of the rebel forces, and Generals Morris and Rosecrans were placed in command. On the 23d of June General McClellan arrived and assumed command of the Union forces. On the 10th of July the battle of Rich Mountain was fought, which resulted in a Union victory and the surrender of Colonel Pegram with one thousand prisoners. On the same day General Garnett, who was advancing with rebel forces to the support of Colonel Pegram, was attacked by the Union troops; his forces were routed and he was killed. These victories for that time cleared out the rebels in Western Virginia. These successes, together with General McClellan's manner of their announcement, won that wonderful confidence which was afterwards accorded to that General. Those that were present in that campaign are well aware how little he had to do with its planning or with the battles by which victory was secured. After the completion of the defenses of Washington on the Virginia side of the Potomac, the Union forces were organized under the command of General McDowell, and under the pressure of popular impatience it was determined to give battle to the rebel army which had concentrated at Manassas. The popular cry, "on to Richmond," and the short term of service of many of the volunteers called out for ninety days, forced General Scott to order a general forward movement on the 15th of July.

The rebel General had called in his forces from Harper's Ferry and other points and awaited the attack of the Union army. On the 16th of July the Union army, commanded by General McDowell, moved from their camps near Washington on the enemy. The attack was made on the 21st, which at first was successful, but the rebel army, during the battle, was reinforced by Johnson's forces from Winchester, which caused a panic among some of the Union regiments, and the result was the defeat and retreat of the Union forces towards Washington, sadly demoralized. General Sheridan said: "The Union troops fought bravely and well, both armies were fairly defeated, and it either had stood fast the other would have run." As it was, the Union forces retreated and the rebel forces were too badly beaten to pursue. The loyal citizens were overwhelmed with mortification and disappointment at the result of the battle. A brilliant victory had been anticipated, but they were not disappointed nor discouraged. They said: "It is bad luck, but we must try it again." The soldiers went into the action with the idea that all they

had to do was to make a bold appearance and the rebels would run. This impression was now dispelled, as they had found a foeman worthy of their steel. The President felt deeply and keenly the result of this battle. As he walked back and forth between the White House and the War Department, all could see that he suffered now from the great burden resting upon him. Peace had been put far away by the result—Providence seemed to have ordered it. A thousand battles were yet to be fought. A thousand plagues were yet to be endured before the public mind would let the bondman go.

After the battle of Bull Run General Sherman's brigade occupied Fort Corcoran. The Sixty-ninth New York regiment, three months men, were quartered there. One morning after the review, one of the Captains stepped up to General Sherman and said: "Colonel, I am going to New York to-day; what can I do for you?" The Colonel answered: "How can you go to New York? I have signed no leave for you." The captain replied, saying, "No; that he did not want a leave. He had engaged to serve three months, and had already served more than that time, and was going home." General Sherman turned to him and said: "Captain, this question of your term of service has been submitted to the rightful authorities. You are a soldier and must submit to orders until you are properly discharged. If you attempt to leave without orders it will be mutiny, and I will shoot you like a dog. Go back to the fort and don't leave it without my orders." The same day the President came over from Washington to visit the soldiers. He said to General Sherman that he would like to speak to the soldiers. The General replied that he would be pleased to have him do so, but that he would ask the President to discourage all cheering. The President stood up in his carriage and made a feeling address, referring to the disaster at Bull's Run, to the high duties that still devolved on them, and the brighter days yet to come. At one or two points in his address the soldiers began to cheer, but he promptly checked them, saying, "Boys, don't cheer. I confess I rather like it myself, but General Sherman here says it is not military, and I guess we had better defer to his opinion." Soon after the address was delivered the captain before mentioned was seen making his way through the crowd to the carriage, and on his approach, he said; "Mr. President, I have a cause of grievance. This morning I went to speak to General Sherman and he threatened to shoot me." The President, who was still standing, said: "Threatened to shoot you?" "Yes, sir; he threatened to shoot me." The President looked at the captain and then at General Sherman, and then stooping his tall, spare form towards the captain, said in a loud whisper that could be heard at some distance, "Well, if I were you and he threatened to shoot I would not trust him, for I believe he would do it." The captain turned and walked away, amidst the laughter of the soldiers.

The victory of the Confederates at Bull's Run, so far as the material results which followed, was a barren one. The rebels were so nearly defeated that they could not follow up their success, and the encouragement the disloyal element received was more than equalled by the increased and renewed resolution of the loyal citizens to renew the conflict at the earliest practicable period. The defeat of the Union forces rendered it necessary that there should be a change in the army officers, and accordingly General McDowell was relieved of his command in August and General McClellan was called to take command of the army of the Potomac. General Scott had recommended his appointment, and his Napoleonic dispatches from Western Virginia had pleased the people and attracted their attention. His appointment gave faith and promise of success to the people, and a rallying point for their patriotic zeal and enthusiasm. The administration had high hopes and expectations from him as a leader of the Union armies. For three months after his appointment, under his faithful supervision the organization of the troops went on, until he had at his command an army splendid in drill and equipments, imposing in members and confident of victory—and then should it have been led to the achievements of those victories and to that successful issue which the army anticipated and expected, and which the administration and the people felt was assured.

July 25, 1861, General Fremont received the appointment of Major General, and was assigned to the military department of the West with his headquarters at St. Louis. Previous to his arrival at St. Louis had occurred the battle of Wilson's Creek. The Union troops were led by Generals Lyon and Sigel against the rebel forces under Ben McCulloch. It was the second important battle of the rebellion, and resulted in the death of General Lyon and the orderly retreat of the Union forces under General Sigel. The battle could not be considered a defeat of the Union troops as General Lyon with his force of six thousand men had inflicted so much injury on McCulloch's army of twenty-two thousand that General Sigel was not molested on his retreat. General Fremont, on his arrival at St. Louis, found the affairs of the State in a most unhappy condition. It contained many disunionists, and there were many secession emissaries from the rebel States who were determined, if possible, to carry the State over to the Confederacy; and to make matters more complicated, the Union sentiment was divided. There were the Union slavery party and the anti-slavery Union party. General Fremont's movements and sentiments were in unison with the principles of the anti-slavery party. On the 31st day of August, General Fremont issued a proclamation declaring martial law, also that the real and personal property of all persons in the State who should take up arms against the United States was declared confiscated to the public use, and their slaves

were declared free men; and further declaring that all rebels should be shot if found within the Union lines with arms in their hands. This proclamation of General Fremont was in advance of the policy of the administration and assumed prerogatives which only belonged to the President. The wisdom of this measure at the time was considered by many of the loyal citizens of the loyal States of doubtful utility in Missouri, while it affected the success and progress of the loyalty of all the border States. The President felt that General Fremont had assumed grave and improper responsibilities in taking so important a step and measure without notice or consultation with the administration. The President, as soon as he received and read the proclamation, wrote to the General, September 2, saying, that there were two points in it which gave him anxiety, and which did not meet with his approval. The first was, that no man must be shot under the proclamation without first having the President's consent. The second was the paragraph liberating slaves. The President ordered that this should be so modified as to conform with the provisions contained in an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, approved August 6, 1861," and that said Act should be published with his order. The appointment of General Fremont and his management of military affairs in Missouri did not prove a popular or a successful one. While there was a large field open for military operations against the rebels and the enemies of the Union, he had quarrels and dissensions with the friends of the administration. His quarrel and difficulty with Colonel F. T. Blair, and the charges and counter-charges between the principals and their friends was the subject of much newspaper comment, as it alienated friends and tended to prevent harmony in the Union party. The President refused to espouse the cause of either party in the general quarrel, and he became satisfied that the interests of the Union cause in Missouri, as well as those of the country at large would be subserved by the removal of the General, which took place in October, 1861, when he was superceded by General Hunter, whose term of service was brief, and who in turn was relieved by General Halleck. The removal of General Fremont from his command of the Western department was at the time the cause of much discontent and complaint by the anti-slavery men in Missouri, and much unfriendly criticism by the radical anti-slavery citizens in the free States.

The conservative policy of the President relative to slavery in the border slave States during the first two years of the rebellion was not popular with the ultra Republicans in the loyal States. But as the war went on and the rebellion progressed, the wisdom of his policy became more apparent and the results following therefrom were disastrous to the rebel confederacy.

In the border States of Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri were many citizens who were loyal to the Union and friendly to the administration, a still larger number whose sympathies were with the South, but their political and pecuniary interests still held them to the Union, and a third party who, in principle and action, favored the rebellion. Those States were still represented in the National Legislature, and it was the policy of the President to pursue that course towards those States which should not abate their loyalty to the Union, and which would destroy all hope and expectation of the rebels that those States would ever join their confederacy. This prudential policy of the President and the good results that followed became more apparent as the war progressed, and its effects were felt and seen in the more decided utterances of fidelity and loyalty to the Union, and in their sending many regiments of loyal soldiers to the front to battle for the Union. There was a gradual growth of that tone of public sentiment and feeling which was more in concert and harmony with the measures of the administration in relation to slavery, and the results of this policy finally terminated in the abolition of slavery in the States of Maryland and Missouri by their own citizens before the close of the war.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL SCOTT RETIRES FROM ACTIVE SERVICE—THE TRENT AFFAIR.

The appointment of General McClellan to the command of the army of the Potomac left General Rosecrans to complete the Union work in Western Virginia (which General McClellan in his report said was accomplished), which was effected during the months of August and September. The army of the Potomac was rapidly increasing in numbers, and was being made efficient in organization and discipline. At this time General McClellan's popularity with the army was unbounded, and the country had the utmost confidence in his ultimate success. On the 29th of August, General Butler, from Fortress Monroe, acting with a naval force, took possession of Hatteras Inlet with the rebel forts therein. On the 21st of October occurred the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff. It was a sad failure; the killed, wounded, captured and drowned were eleven hundred. Here Senator Baker, the President's friend and freedom's champion, fell. The country mourned in sorrow and anger. General McClellan, in his report of the disaster, said "that situated as the troops were—cut off alike from retreat and reinforcements, one thousand seven hundred men against five thousand, the issue could not have been otherwise." The country wanted to know, and the people inquired why, with an immense army within a few miles, were the Union troops left or placed where reinforcements and retreats were alike impossible for their relief. This sad affair at Ball's Bluff and the inactivity manifested in the army of the Potomac did not appear well to General Scott, and he had daily experience that his position was becoming unpleasant under the existing management of military affairs. He therefore on the 1st of November, in a letter to the President, desired on account of physical infirmities, to be relieved from all active duties. In an answer by the President to the General, granting his request, Mr. Lincoln added: "The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army. The President and the unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and

their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which ever will be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union and the flag when assailed by parricidal rebellion." The President and his entire Cabinet waited upon him at his residence, and then with his Secretaries around him, the President read his letter. It stirred the old General's heart as it never had been moved before. It seemed to him to be the finishing up in brightness and grandeur a life—a long life spent in faithful service and devotion to his country, its Constitution and its laws. The old General replied: "This honor overwhelms me. It over pays all the services I have attempted to render my country. If I had any claim before they are all obliterated by this expression of approval by the President, with the unanimous support of the Cabinet. I know the President and this Cabinet well. I know that the country has placed its interests in this trying crisis in safe keeping. Their councils are wise. Their labors are untiring as they are loyal, and theirs is the right one."

Thus the hero of Lundy's Lane and Chapultepec, after half a century spent in the service of his country, leading its armies to victory, went into retirement and rest with the approbation of his Government and the gratitude of the people for his eminent services rendered, the more meritorious for his loyalty and devotion to the Union in her hour of peril and need. Born in the South, a son of the Old Dominion, he had chivalric notions of Virginia's institution and greatness; but when he came to choose between union and disunion, loyalty or disloyalty, he laid all State, friends, and sectional feelings at the shrine of liberty, on the altar of freedom, and he lived to see treason punished, loyalty rewarded and the success and safety of that Government he so loyally supported.

During the month of November South Carolina was invaded and a brilliant naval victory was achieved in Port Royal harbor. Generals Grant and McClernard attacked a rebel camp in Missouri, capturing twelve guns, baggage, horses and many prisoners. General W. T. Sherman was sent to Kentucky and held that State against the rebels under General Williams. He was afterwards transferred to the army of Tennessee, and General Buell took Sherman's command in Kentucky.

On the 12th of October, 1861, the steamer *Theodora* steamed out of Charleston harbor with two notorious rebels on board, James M. Mason and John Slidell, ambassadors to England and France. Their object was to obtain from those Governments the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. They proceeded to Cuba to take passage on the British mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Wilkes, of the United States frigate *San Jacinto*, had been advised of the proceedings of the commissioners, and on the second day out from

Havana the Trent was hailed from the San Jacinto by a shot across her bow. Two officers and marines from the San Jacinto boarded the Trent, and soon found Messrs. Mason and Slidell and their secretaries, and by force, against the protest of the officers of the Trent, took them to the San Jacinto, when they were brought to the United States and incarcerated in Fort Warren in Boston harbor. This event produced in both countries at the time intense excitement. The Englishmen, always sensitive to any interference with their coveted claims as "mistress of the seas," were roused to indignation at this insult, as they claimed it was, to their Government and flag. The rebels looked upon the event as a special manifestation of Providence in their favor. To the loyal citizens of the Union the news was most cheering. They greeted the event with joy and exultation, and lauded and commended the action of Captain Wilkes. It was well that we had a Government at Washington calm, dignified and intelligent, and in the cool, deliberate conduct of its actions, entirely free from being affected by any sudden or misdirected passions of the people. The President, as well as Secretary Seward, were well aware that the seizure was a grave matter; that it would be considered by the British Government as an affront to the national honor, and that reparation would be demanded. Secretary Seward immediately communicated to Mr. Adams, our Minister at the Court of St. James, a statement of the case, with the assurance that Captain Wilkes had acted without instructions and that our Government was prepared to discuss the matter in a friendly spirit as soon as the position of the British Government should be made known. On the 13th of November Earl Russell wrote to the British Minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, giving his understanding of the case, and saying "that his Government was willing to believe that the naval officer was not acting in compliance with any instructions from his Government, and that the United States would of its own motion release the commissioners and make an apology." The Earl, very soon after dispatching his note of November 30, seemed to have somewhat changed his policy, for in a subsequent note he instructed Lord Lyons to wait seven days after having made his demand for reparation, and in case no answer should be given, or any other answer than a full compliance with the terms of the demand, at the end of that time he should leave Washington with the archives of the legation and repair to London.

On the 26th of December, Secretary Seward, by direction of the President, sent a reply to this dispatch to Lord Lyons, in which the entire question and subject was reviewed at length, and with consummate skill and ability. The Government decided and declared that the detention of the vessel and the removal from her of the emissaries of the rebel confederacy was justifiable by the laws of war and the practice and precedents of the British Government;

but that in assuming to decide upon the liability of these persons to capture for himself, instead of sending them before a proper legal tribunal where a regular trial could be had, Captain Wilkes had departed from the rule of international law uniformly asserted by the American Government, which forms a part of its most cherished policy. Mr. Seward said: "If I decide in favor of my own Government, I must disavow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. If I maintain these principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. Therefore, the persons held in military custody in Fort Warren will be cheerfully liberated."

This decision, sustained by the able and lucid reasoning advanced in its support, received the immediate and universal acquiescence of the loyal citizens; and in England and by all the European nations, and by the friends of the Union everywhere, it was received and commended as a State paper of consummate ability. The effect of this incident, under the just and judicious course adopted by the administration, was eminently favorable to the United States. One of the immediate fruits of the amicable settlement of the controversy was the prompt rejection of all applications and demands by the rebel commissioners for the recognition of the independence of the confederate States. The British Government was satisfied with the liberation of the rebel commissioners. They sailed for London in an English vessel, but singularly failed in the objects of their mission. The friends of the rebellion in France and England were disappointed and disgusted with the results following Secretary Seward's able management of the affair. The hopes of the Southern Confederacy, by the arrest of their commissioners, were raised to their highest state by the abrupt ultimatum of Earl Russell to our Government. But the adroit and successful management of the controversy by Secretary Seward, and rejection of the application of the rebel commissioners for the recognition of their confederacy, destroyed their hopes and brought disappointment and grief to the rebels and their friends throughout the Union. With the President's good humor, was his self-possession, resulting from his patience and calmness which was most fully exemplified in the settlement of the Trent affair.

Hon. Chancellor Hartson says: "But with Lincoln all deficiencies in prompt action met a full compensation in his calmness, and his wonderful practical nature. Nothing ruffled his calmness; nothing exhausted his patience—patience, that divine quality; that heroic element; all the more heroic because we pay it no respect. How rich Lincoln's nature was in this. The calm self-possession resulting from these two elements was never brought out more fully than when the seceding States were seeking recognition as an independent Government from the European powers. When I was

in Washington, a gentleman connected with the Department of State showed me the original draft of the dispatch to our Minister in England on this subject. The first draft was in Mr. Seward's handwriting, couched in vigorous English; it was bold and defiant, almost threatening in its tone, putting in strong language the insults and injury to our Government. But all through the document were erasures and interlinations in Lincoln's hand, softening this word and toning down that arrogant claim, substituting gentler and more cautious expressions for Seward's blunt language, till when all was done without altering the meaning of the document the whole tone was changed. Seward's letter would have offended the dignity of England and would have dared her to recognize the rebel confederacy. Lincoln's letter enlisted the sympathy of the English liberals and prevented the impending catastrophe. It was probably the most critical point of the war."

Soon after the settlement of the Trent affair, a clergyman from Springfield, Illinois, an old friend of the President, visited Washington and called at the White House to pay his respects to the President. In the course of the conversation, he remarked: "Mr. Lincoln, I think you have made a nice point in this Trent affair. I think the rebels will be sadly disappointed; and, if it is not asking too much, I would like to know what will be your policy on the slavery question." "Well," said the President, "it seems to me that I find too many that are more concerned about the slavery question than they are about the Union. But I will answer your question by telling you a story. 'You know B., the old Methodist preacher, and you know Fox river and its freshets. Well, once Father B., in company with a young Methodist minister, in the Spring of the year when the waters were high and roads deep and muddy, was traveling towards Fox river. The young minister was continually expressing his fears that the river would be so high that he would be prevented from crossing and could not fill his appointments. Father B. checked him in his gravest manner. Said he, young man, I have always made it a rule of my life never to cross Fox river until I get to it.' And," added Mr. Lincoln, "I am not going to worry myself over the slavery question until I get to it."

About this time an Austrian Count applied to President Lincoln for an appointment in the army. Being introduced by the Austrian Council he needed no further recommendation; but, as if fearing that his importance might not be duly appreciated, he proceeded to explain that he was a Count; that his family were ancient and highly respectable. Lincoln, with a merry twinkle in his eye, tapped the aristocratic lover of titles on the shoulder in a fatherly way, as if the man was confessing to some wrong, and interrupting him, said in a soothing tone, "Never mind, you shall be treated with just as much consideration for all that." The Austrian nobleman looked for a

few moments as though he fully recognized the fact that he was in a country where Counts were at a discount.

A friend of the President called upon him when he was apparently pressed with important matters, and read a long manuscript to him, and then asked: "What do you think of it; how will it take?" The President reflected for a moment and then said: "Well, for people that like that kind of reading, I think it is just about the kind of reading they would like." These pleasantries of the President at this time indicate that the settlement of the Trent affair had given him cheerfulness and good humor which found vent in those jocose replies and that elasticity of spirit which he at times enjoyed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN'S PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

When General McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac in July, there were at or near Washington 50,000 men, and within the succeeding three months the number was increased by the Government to more than one hundred and fifty thousand, with five hundred pieces of artillery. The President gave him more men than was ever effectually handled by any one man in the field, and the War Department lavishly granted his army all the war material required. He succeeded General Scott on his retirement from the service November 1st, in command of all the armies of the Union, having personal command of the Army of the Potomac. He had the finest and best organized army of its numbers ever placed under the command of one man in modern times, and the people became more and more clamorous for action and a forward movement against the enemy.

The President was urging him to do something in response to the demands of the country. The rebels were massing in his front within striking distance. There was an unaccountable over-cautious delay. Hesitating, wavering, he always found excuses in the shape of fresh obstacles to a forward movement. He allowed the golden days of Autumn to pass away, and not a movement was made or a blow struck. The season had been very favorable for military movements. The troops were well organized and in the highest state of efficiency, and eager and earnest desires were expressed by the officers and privates to be led against the enemies of their country. All recollect how monotonous the news became as month after month it was said "all quiet on the Potomac." As Winter approached without any indications of an intended movement against the enemy, the public discontent rose to the highest point. The President, unable and unwilling to bear the procrastination, on the 27th of January issued an order for a general movement of all the Union armies, land and naval forces, against the insurgents on the 22d of February. Instead of obeying this order General McClellan objected, stating that the roads would be bad, and that he had a better plan on a better route. These objections of

General McClellan to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief were a subject of much correspondence by General McClellan, which delayed any movement until March 8th, when the rebels retired from their defenses at Manassas towards Richmond. On the 10th of March General McClellan moved forward his grand army to the rebel defenses and found no enemy, and on the 18th of March marched back to Alexandria.

Six months had now intervened since General McClellan's army of one hundred and fifty thousand men was organized and fully equipped for aggressive movements, and during that period had only occurred the battle of Ball's Bluff, before mentioned. It may be here stated that the President, in common with the whole country, was deeply pained by the long delay of the Army of the Potomac to move against the rebels while in force at Manassas, and this feeling was changed into mortification and chagrin when it was known that the enemy were allowed to withdraw from that position unmolested, and even without their designs being known or suspected. The President had now become anxious and impatient. The people, instead of laying the blame on the General in command for these delays, were blaming the administration, and had manifested their dissatisfaction in the late elections, and the President, as well as the loyal citizens, felt that the crisis demanded a forward movement and a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. The President said he would have no further delay. General McClellan must now move. He could select his own route to find the enemy, but they must be found. Only one thing was required, a sufficient force must be left to protect the National capital. The route selected for an offensive movement was the peninsula, by way of Fortress Monroe. Four corps accompanied him, numbering 146,255 men. The troops arrived and were landed on the peninsula the first of April. General McClellan immediately pushed forward a portion of his force towards Yorktown, where the enemy had thrown up a line of intrenchments across the peninsula. Here, with a rebel force of 11,000 men, according to the official report of the rebel commander, General Magruder in front, General McClellan, with over one hundred thousand men, with pick and shovel went to work to entrench, and began a regular siege, and here he was held at bay one month, when the rebels quietly evacuated their position and retired up the peninsula.

This recalls an incident that occurred at the White House after General McClellan was nominated for the Presidency at the Chicago Convention. A gentleman from New York, in company with Assistant Secretary Dana, called upon the President. In the course of the conversation the gentleman said: "What do you think, Mr. President, is the reason General McClellan does not reply to the letter of nomination from the Chicago Convention?" "Oh," replied Lincoln, with a characteristic twinkle of his eye, "he is entrenching."

While the army was intrenching before Yorktown General McClellan was engaged in sending dispatches to the President for more men and making complaints that he was not properly supported by the Government. This continual complaint and demand worried the President, as he knew there was no real cause, and on the 8th of April he wrote to the General, reviewing all his complaints, and closing by saying: "I beg to assure you that I never have written to you, nor spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, but you must act." On the 30th of April General McClellan called upon the War Department for Parrott guns, and on the 1st of May the President wrote to him: "Your call for Parrott guns from Washington alarms me, chiefly because it argues indefinite procrastination. Is anything to be done?" The rebels opened the way for the General's advance by quietly retiring from their fortifications at Yorktown, May 4th, and on the 5th occupied their second line of defenses at Williamsburg.

On the 5th of May a portion of the army was ordered forward under Generals Hooker, Heintzleman, Sumner and Hancock, and found the enemy near Williamsburg and engaged them early in the day. General McClellan was at his headquarters near Yorktown and was informed by a messenger that a bloody battle was in progress and that his presence was needed on the field. He arrived on the battlefield late in the afternoon. His presence aided materially in producing a favorable result of the battle and the retreat of the enemy. Next morning no portion of the rebel army was found in the vicinity.

We leave the army for a time, making its way towards Richmond, to narrate some events taking place at Fortress Monroe and in the vicinity. The President and a member of his Cabinet had arrived at the fort for consultation and an examination of the state of affairs. Nothing could be effected on James river on account of the presence of the formidable Merimac, and because Norfolk was held by the rebels. An expedition was fitted out at Fortress Monroe, under General Wool, to take Norfolk. To show how this was done and to illustrate how the President dealt with his officers, we shall let Mr. Lincoln tell his own story. In conversation with General Garfield, he said: "We went down to Fortress Monroe in Chase's revenue cutter, and consulted with Admiral Goldsborough on the feasibility of taking Norfolk by landing on the north side and making a march of eight miles. The Admiral said there was no landing on that shore, and that we should have to double the cape and approach the place from the North side, which would be a long march and a difficult one. I asked him if he ever tried to find a landing and he replied he had not. 'Now, Admiral,' said I, 'if you don't know there is a landing on the North side I want you to find out.' The Admiral took the

hint. He fitted out an expedition, and taking Chase and Wool along with some marines, he went on a voyage of discovery, and Stanton and I remained at Fortress Monroe. That night we went to bed, but not to sleep, for we were very anxious for the fate of the expedition. Next morning, about 2 o'clock, I heard the heavy tread of Wool ascending the stairs. I went into the parlor and found Stanton hugging Wool in the most enthusiastic manner as he announced that he had found a landing and had taken Norfolk." Thus, by a hint from the President, the capture of Norfolk was accomplished on the 9th of May, and on the 11th the Merrimac was blown up by her own officers and the passage of James river was opened to Drury's Bluff.

Returning to the army of the Potomac, which lay at Williamsburg, five days after the battle. During this time General McClellan was busy with his dispatches to the President. The replies of the President indicate their purport. Under date of May 15, he writes: "I have done all I could or can do to support you. I had hoped that the opening of the James river and putting Wool and Burnside in communication with an open road to Richmond or to you had effected something in that direction."

On the 7th of May, General Franklin landed at West Point with his division, supported by the divisions of Sedgwick, Porter and Richardson. The rebels were obliged to attack this force in order that their retreating troops from the battle of Williamsburg could make their way back towards Richmond. The enemy, after a contest of six hours, were repulsed, but the object of the attack was effected. On the 16th of May General McClellan's headquarters had reached the White House, and on the 25th a movement was made to cross the Chickahominy, which was partially affected, and on the 30th and 31st of May a severe and well contested battle was fought, which resulted in the repulse of the rebels and such a severe loss to them as to greatly alarm Richmond; and the expectations and impressions of the enemy was that an immediate pursuit would be made by the Union forces. On the succeeding day General Heintzelman sent out a reconnoitering party which advanced within four miles of Richmond, and no enemy was found. Of this reconnoiter General McClellan was informed, and now it would seem that the favorable opportunity was at hand to advance and capture Richmond; but General McClellan thought otherwise. He ordered the troops to fall back and occupy their old positions. On the 7th of June General McClellan wrote to the Secretary of War that he should be ready to move as soon as General McCall should reach him with his division, which he did on the 10th of June. The Army of the Potomac landed on the peninsula the first day of April; two months and ten days had now elapsed and no decisive results had been accomplished. The long delay and procrastination had given time for the rebels to call in and concentrate their forces for the defense of Richmond, and each

succeeding day made the success of the Union army more difficult and the capture of Richmond more improbable. Among the many complaints and demands of General McClellan during those seventy days of progress from Fortress Monroe to the Chicahominy was his request for the reorganization of his army. He was not satisfied with the appointment of the corps commanders, which were made by the President, and such officers as Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes were not of his choosing; and on the 9th of May he wrote to the Secretary of War, asking permission to reorganize the army corps. The Secretary informed him that the President would write to him relative to that subject. The letter of the President is here subjoined; it is frank, friendly and characteristic, and is as follows: "I have just assisted the Secretary of War in forming the part of a dispatch to you relative to army corps, which dispatch, of course, will have reached you long before this will. I wish to say a few words privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals of the divisions, but also on the unanimous opinion of every military man I could get an opinion from, and every modern military book, yourself only excepted. Of course I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it is indispensable for you to know how your struggles against it is received in quarters which we cannot disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets, and persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have no word from Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes. The commanders of these corps are, of course, the three highest officers with you; but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but General Porter, and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just, but at all events it is proper you should know of their existence. Do the corps commanders disobey your orders in anything? Are you strong enough even with my help to put your foot upon the neck of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes all at once? This is a practical and very serious question to you." General McClellan thought it advisable, after the receipt of the President's letter, not to press the change in the corps commanders which he had thought so essential and necessary. But he created two additional corps which he placed under the command of Generals Porter and Franklin, the men mentioned by the President as his favorites. The tenor of the President's letter plainly indicated that he was aware of the trouble and dissensions that were injuring the efficacy and imperiling the success of the Army of the Potomac, and that veteran officers, high in command and in the confidence of the Government and people, as were Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes, could not be deprived of their commands at the caprice and wish of the commanding General. General McClellan had now nearly for a month been

delaying daily his intention to march upon Richmond. Several specific days had been named, although in every instance something occurred to prevent a movement and cause a further postponement. He had been idle so long that the rebels had fully prepared for his reception, and they were now disposed that he should move one way or the other.

CHAPTER XXV.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN'S FAILURE.

The battle of Fair Oaks was fought on the 31st of May, and for almost a month General McClellan's army lay inactive astride the Chicahominy, and now it was the 25th of June and the rebels were now prepared for action. On the 26th of June his right was attacked, but the enemy was repulsed. This engagement disclosed the purpose of the enemy, which was to crush his right wing and cut off his communications. Here was opened for his adoption two plans. He could have crossed the river with his left wing and so have reinforced his right as to have given it a victory; or, he could have withdrawn his right across the river, which was in itself a strong defensive line, reunited his army, and marched into Richmond on the flank and rear of the attacking enemy. Concentration and a vigorous effort would have given victory. Division invited and insured defeat.

General McClellan left the right wing of his army of thirty thousand men the next day, without any support from the left wing, to contend against the main body of the rebel army. Porter was so severely pressed that the division of Slocum and the brigades of French and Meagher were sent to his aid, and by their assistance he was enabled to hold his position until dark, when he withdrew across the Chicahominy. On the evening of the battle, June 27th, General McClellan informed his corps commanders that his right wing would be withdrawn across the Chickahominy and the army would fall back to James river. During the month that General McClellan had laid inactive on the Chicahominy his pen had been active in calling on the President for more troops, while his inactivity prevented the President from complying with his requests and demands. Had he pressed the enemy within the environs of Richmond, Jackson would have been recalled from the valley of the Shenandoah and the President would have been relieved of the pressure on Washington and have been able and willing to send more troops to his assistance.

It may be said that at this time the large and magnificent peninsula expedition, so far as offensive operations were concerned, had come to a close.

Organized under auspices the most promising, and with expectations the most sanguine and confident of success, it moved forward to its destination with the prayers, hopes and anticipations of millions of freemen, but its operations were retarded and impeded by timidity and procrastination. The trenches of Yorktown bore its bitter fruit, and the pestilential banks of the Chicahominy had its thousands, a sacrifice to inaction and delay. On the night of the 27th of June, after General Porter had recrossed the Chicahominy, the bridges were destroyed, and early the next morning the whole army was put in motion on the retreat to James river, and at the same time all army supplies that could not be removed were destroyed. General McClellan and his staff proceeded in advance, leaving orders where the corps commanders were to make successive stands to resist pursuit, he taking no part personally in any of the succeeding engagements. On the 28th, the army continued its march unmolested towards James river. On the 29th the rear guard under General Sumner was attacked by the rebels, and in a severe and hotly contested battle they were repulsed at Savage Station. On the next day, at Frazier's Farm, the rebels made a desperate attempt to pierce the Union army but were repulsed. The Union army, during the night of the 30th, fell back and occupied Malvern Hill, and here prepared to contest the further pursuit of the rebels. Here the reunited Union forces made a stand and were attacked in force by the rebel army, July 1st. The rebels were signally defeated and repulsed with fearful slaughter, suffering a more severe and serious loss than in any battle fought since the outbreak. On the following day the retreat of the Union army was continued unmolested to Harrison's Landing, which had been selected by General McClellan, and which was occupied by the Union army July 2d. On the 8th of July following, the President visited the army at Harrison's Landing. At this time it was ascertained that the enemy was organizing their forces for an advance on Washington, the rebel general being satisfied that Richmond was no longer in danger. It was the opinion of the President and the corps commanders that the army should repair to Aquia creek in order to support General Pope, on whom General Lee, with the rebel forces, was advancing, and to cover Washington. General McClellan was opposed to this movement; he still wanted more men. He wanted General Burnside's command from North Carolina to help him, and he still wanted to try and take Richmond. But the President thought differently. He reasoned and believed that if General McClellan, with an army of 160,000 men, big with high hopes and expectations when they landed on the peninsula, could not defeat the rebels and take Richmond, that with the same army now decimated by disease contracted in the marshes and swamps of the Chickahominy, and in the seven day battles, and sadly demoralized by the retreat to James river, a successful advance on

Richmond would be impolitic, if not impracticable. And further, the President found on his visit to the army, that of the 160,000 men that had gone with General McClellan to the peninsula only 86,000 remained, leaving 75,000 men to be accounted for, and, making a fair estimate for the losses by death, wounded and disease, 50,000 men were still absent; and to the inquiry of the President how these 50,000 men were to be accounted for, General McClellan replied that 38,250 men were absent on furloughs granted by the permission of the commanding officer.

History has written up a painful record of the movements and results of this remarkable campaign under General McClellan, and this acknowledgment is the most unaccountable and remarkable. For two months General McClellan had been almost daily calling upon the President for more troops, more reinforcement, and here he tells the President that from his army are 38,250 men absent from duty on furlough. Well might the President bow his head in sorrow and anguish as he did at the sad failure of his expectations and the demolition of his hopes and anticipation, which had centered on the Army of the Potomac, knowing full well that on him and his administration were the expectations and hopes of the people centered, and that he and he alone must bear the obloquy, censorious comments, blame and disappointments that would follow so signal a failure. The people could not—must not now know where the blame should rest, and the reasons for the sad ending of the peninsula campaign. Here, on the 7th of July, while calling on the President for more men, and reorganizing his shattered battalions after the seven days battles, General McClellan found time to write the President a long letter of advice as to what should be the future policy and proper conduct of his administration. It was a surprising letter, remarkable for a subordinate officer to write to the President of his Government; it was a rare epistle, such a one as history fails to record, except in this one instance, in which an officer, although high in command, presumes to advise and dictate to his Government what ought to be and should be its future policy. The particular points, among others, which he wished to impress upon the President were that in no event should the people of any State be subjugated, no political execution of persons, no confiscation and no forcible abolition of slavery. "A radical declaration of views, especially on slavery," he said, "would rapidly disintegrate our present armies." The President, instead of taking any notice of this letter, continued to urge the General's attention to the condition of his own army, saying to him, "Save the army where you are, and by removal if you must, but save the army at all events."

On the 25th of July, General Halleck visited the army at Harrison's Landing, and after a careful inspection of its condition, called an informal council of the officers, a majority of whom recommended a withdrawal from

the peninsula; and on the 4th of August he informed General McClellan that his army was to be withdrawn from the peninsula to Aquia creek. General McClellan remonstrated against this movement, and declared "that the army ought not to be withdrawn; it ought to be reinforced and marched against Richmond." He seemed not to understand that his presence or movements on the peninsula gave General Lee but little fears for the safety of Richmond, as he was, with the main strength of his army, forcing General Pope back upon Washington. On the 4th of August General McClellan was ordered to remove his sick, and forward his troops as fast as possible to Aquia creek, as General Lee was pressing General Pope, who was contesting every inch of ground with his inferior numbers. It would seem that there should have been celerity of action now, but it was not until the 23d of August that General Franklin's corps started from Fortress Monroe, and on the 26th that General McClellan reached Alexandria.

It is impossible to understand or comprehend the delay and dilatory movements of General McClellan at this critical juncture. He was earnestly urged to forward his troops as fast as possible to the assistance of General Pope. Orders were given him the 4th of August, and nineteen days intervened before the first arrival of troops at Aquia creek, which should have been accomplished in four days; and this was permitted when he was informed that the celerity of his movements was necessary to save the Union army under General Pope, and secure the safety of the National capital. On the 9th of August, General Halleck says: "The enemy is massing his forces to crush Generals Pope and Burnside, and considering the amount of transportation at your disposal, your delay is not satisfactory. You must move with celerity." Again, on the 11th of August, General Halleck says: "The enemy is crossing the Rapidan in large forces; to-day they are fighting General Pope; there must be no further delay in your movements. The delay which has already occurred was entirely unexpected and must be satisfactorily explained. Let not a moment be lost." Thus, with all the ordering, urging and scolding by his superior officer, General Halleck, twenty days intervened after the first order was given before the first corps, General Franklin's, reached Aquia creek. This could have been accomplished in forty-eight hours. By the delay of General McClellan in sending forward his troops as directed, the Army of the Potomac under General Pope was driven back upon Washington. It had contested every inch of ground, and fought every battle with a gallant and tenacious courage that would have insured a decisive victory had it been promptly and properly supported. The question, why this fatal delay in the movements of General McClellan's troops, has never been satisfactorily answered. The most charitable inference is that he was jealous of General Pope and wished to deprive him of success; at any rate, his

conduct, his failure to act promptly and readily in this great necessity renders the conclusion unavoidable that he was inefficient, incompetent to grasp the situation, or wanting in true devotion to his country, and to the interests and responsibilities committed to his hands. The rebel army, elated with their victory over Pope, were moving up the Potomac for the purpose of crossing over and invading Maryland. The time for action had come. General Pope was relieved from his command and General McClellan was now placed in command of all the troops, and on the 4th of September the Union army crossed the Potomac into Maryland, and on the 12th reached Frederick, which had just been evacuated by the rebels.

There was great excitement in Washington, the country was fearfully alarmed, and the people were losing confidence in the administration. The sad reverses and delays of General McClellan, and the causes thereof, could not be made public without detriment to the military service; and consequently the President must bear the reproach and censure of the public until the proper time should arrive when the real causes of those failures could be given to the country. On the 14th of September, the advance of the Union army came up with the rebel forces eight miles from Frederick, and the battle of South Mountain was fought and the enemy was forced back towards the Potomac. General McClellan pushed forward his right wing and center in pursuit of the Confederates, and came up with them and found them posted on the bank of Antietam creek. On the 16th the Union army had arrived in front of the enemy, and preparations were made for an attack the following day. Early on the morning of the 17th, Hooker commenced the battle on the enemy's left, and was supported by Mansfield and Sumner's corps. On the enemy's right, Burnside's was engaged. The battle raged back and forth over the contested field with alternate success. The rebels were driven from most of their positions, and at the close of the day victory had been wrested at a fearful cost from the Confederate army. The Union loss was 2010 killed, 9416 wounded and 1043 missing. The enemy's total loss was 13,500. The trophies of the Union army were thirteen guns, thirty-nine colors, 15,000 small arms and 6000 prisoners. Early the next morning the Union troops rose from their rest on the bare ground, partook of their simple breakfast and were prepared to renew the contest. They believed that Lee could not escape. The river was in his rear and Porter's fresh corps of 15,000 men was at hand. Will the auspicious opportunity be improved? Will General McClellan grasp and improve the timely moment for success?

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN SUPERCEDED—UNION SUCCESSES—STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR.

As was narrated in the preceding chapter, the battle of Antietam was fought on the 17th of September, resulting in the defeat of the rebels; and they were allowed, during the night and the next day, to lead their shattered forces across the Potomac. It became necessary again to force a movement, for orders to issue from Washington to General McClellan to renew the battle on the 19th, when he suddenly discovered that the enemy was on the other side of the river. General McClellan, with Porter's corps of 15,000 fresh troops who had taken no part in the late action, and his entire army not as badly disorganized by the battle as the army of the enemy, thought it not prudent to make a pursuit of the retreating foe, nor did he think it advisable to cross the Potomac; but on the 23d he wrote to the President for reinforcements, and on the 28th he renewed his application, stating his purpose to hold the enemy where it was and to attack the rebels should they attempt to recross into Maryland.

On the 1st of October the President visited the army and made a careful inquiry into its strength and condition; on the 6th of October he issued an order for immediate advance. General Halleck telegraphed as follows: "The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him South. Your army must move now while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington and cover the latter by your operations, you can have 30,000 men. The President is very desirous that your army should move as soon as possible."

On the 11th of October the rebel general of cavalry, Stuart, with a force of 2500 men made a raid into Pennsylvania, going completely around General McClellan and his army and returned unharmed, although General McClellan had reported his capture sure. For over two weeks General McClellan delayed to move his army in obedience to the President's orders. He spent this interval in incessant demands for reinforcements, and on the 21st of

October inquired if it still was the President's wish that he should march on the enemy at once, or await the arrival of fresh horses. He was informed that the order of the 6th was unchanged and that all this good weather should not be wasted in inactivity. On the 25th of October he wrote to the War Department, saying, "That his horses were fatigued and greatly troubled with sore tongue." This complaint elicited the following inquiry from the President: "I have just read your dispatch about sore tongue and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that would fatigue anything?" On the 1st of November the army commenced crossing the Potomac and on the 5th General McClellan announced to the President that it was all on the Virginia side. This was just one month after the order was given to cross. The rebels had, in the meantime, fallen back and taken possession of all their strongholds and strongly reinforced their army.

President Lincoln had experienced, to its fullest extent, the signification of that expression, "Times that tried men's souls." The patience and forbearance of the administration had long ere this ceased to be a virtue, but with a disposition to bear and forbear with the General's inactivity, delays and failures, the President had deferred a change until the prospect for the future was cheerless and hopeless indeed and on the 5th of November an order was issued from the War Department relieving General McClellan of his command and directing General Burnside to take his place as Commander of the Army of the Potomac.

The reader of history will find much food for thought and reflection in comparing the campaigns and military movements of General McClellan and their results with Sherman's march to the sea, of Sheridan in the Shenandoah valley, of Thomas in Tennessee and Grant in the wilderness and before Richmond. Compared with the operations of those generals and the results, the campaign of General McClellan was barren of advantageous effects. The period of fifteen months that General McClellan had command was the most remarkable of the war. Remarkable at first for high hopes and expectations of grand and brilliant results, and still more remarkable for inactivity, hesitancy, delays for want of action and discernment, and for blasted anticipations and bitter disappointments. With due liberality the want of success with General McClellan must be regarded as mainly due to the natural constitution of his mind, unable to meet the great responsibilities of his position, and to grasp at the opportune moment—the favorable time for achieving great and decisive results. To him was intrusted the destinies and hopes of the Nation at a most critical period of its history. He assumed the responsibilities under the most flattering and auspicious circumstances, called by his Government with the entire approbation of the loyal people to the high com-

mand of the largest and most powerful army ever marshaled till then upon this continent, furnished with every material of war necessary for effective service. The future seemed then, to the loyal citizens of the Nation, full of hope and promise, and the administration was equally hopeful of success and confident that the best results would follow from calling General McClellan to command the Army of the Potomac. How sadly and bitterly the loyal citizens were disappointed is a matter of history, while upon the shoulders of the President were resting the responsibilities and burdens of the failure, rendered only tolerable by the consciousness that all the power, aid and advice and urging of the administration was given, and that every opportunity was used by the President to urge and impress the general with the necessity of prompt and decisive action, offensive and aggressive.

The military operations in the year 1862, with the exception of General McClellan in Eastern Virginia, were marked by energy and success. Much had been accomplished by our navy. The Southern ports were efficiently blockaded and material had been procured and vessels built and secured for several important expeditions. Admiral Farragut, in April, 1862, with a naval force attacked Forts Jackson and St. Phillips on the Mississippi river, below New Orleans, and after six days' bombardment, the whole fleet passed the forts and on the 25th Commodore Farragut took possession of New Orleans, and the 1st of May General Butler arrived and assumed his duties as commander of that department. On the 19th of January the Union forces at Mill Springs released Western Kentucky from rebel occupation and opened a way for the Union armies into East Tennessee. Soon after the President's order of January 27 ordering an advance of all the Union armies, Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Cumberland and Tennessee, were captured. This led to the evacuation by the enemy of Bowling Green, the surrender of Nashville and the capture of Columbus, the rebels' stronghold on the Mississippi. Fort Pulaski, at the entrance to Savannah was taken, and the entire west coast of Florida was occupied by our forces. General Price was driven out of Missouri, Island Number Ten, Forts Pillow and Randolph were taken, and the Union forces occupied Memphis. The rebel forces had concentrated at Corinth, and on the morning of April 6th, with overwhelming numbers, surprised the Union forces at Pittsburg Landing and forced them back on the river. The fight lasted all day, the rebels having at the close of the day decidedly the advantage. General Grant, who was in command of the army, opportunely returned in the afternoon from a visit to ports below on the river. He rallied and reorganized our surprised troops, and being reinforced during the night by the timely arrival of General Buell with his forces, the next morning the battle was renewed and the rebels were pushed back in retreat with severe losses and the sudden attack of the enemy ended in a

signal and most complete victory for the Union army. The victory was so decided that the President issued a proclamation of thanksgiving for this and other victories which had been achieved. From the battle of Pittsburg Landing the rebels fell back to Corinth, which they evacuated May 28, and were pursued by the Union forces for thirty miles. General Mitchell, by a most daring enterprise, in April, took possession of Huntsville in Alabama. On the 8th of February General Burnside, with the Union forces under his command, captured Roanoke island with three thousand prisoners, and made further successful movements on the coast and rivers of North Carolina. The rebels under General Bragg invaded Kentucky for the purpose of strengthening the secession sentiment in that State and to collect supplies, but the attempt was a failure, and in an engagement at Perryville, which resulted in a success to the Union army, the rebels retreated. The rebels concentrated in large force and attacked General Rosecrans at Corinth, but were defeated with severe losses. Near the close of the year there was a severe engagement at Murfreesboro in which the Union forces were successful. The year 1862 closed with results, with the exception of Eastern Virginia, favorable to the Union cause. The border States, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, had been secured to the Union. The rebels had been forced from those States and the Union citizens had been encouraged; and with the loyal citizens of the Nation there was but little doubt of the final triumph of the Union cause.

On the 14th of January Simon Cameron resigned his position as Secretary of War and Edwin M. Stanton was called to the War Department. A number of busy bodies desired further changes in the Cabinet, and several called upon the President to urge upon him that other changes were absolutely necessary. The President listened to their arguments, and then said with his quizzical smile: "Gentlemen, the case you are urging reminds me of a story of an old friend of mine out in Illinois. His homestead was very much infested with those little black and white animals that we needn't call by name, and after losing his patience with them he determined to sally out and inflict upon them a general slaughter. He took guns, clubs and dogs, and at it he went, but stopped after killing one and returned home. When his neighbors asked him why he had not fulfilled his threats of killing all that were on his place he replied that his experience with the one he killed was such that he thought he had better stop where he was." His advisers were not slow to understand their dismissal and went away laughing at the method in which it was effected.

The appointment of Mr. Stanton from the Democratic party was one of the most fortunate of Mr. Lincoln's appointments. His loyalty was unimpeachable, and his integrity and honesty has never been questioned. His

management of the War Department gave evidence of his energy and ability, and his record is one of which his country is proud to hold up as worthy of imitation. The President had the utmost confidence in his ability and integrity and had an attachment and affection for him that was not misplaced, but was reciprocal. There were those that said to the President that they thought Stanton was very impulsive, that he was easily excited, and might act without due caution and deliberation. "In that case," said the President, "we may have to treat him as they are sometimes obliged to treat a Methodist preacher out in Illinois. He gets wrought up to so high a pitch of excitement in his exhortations and prayers that they are obliged to put bricks in his pockets to keep him down. We may be obliged to serve Stanton the same way, but I guess we'll let him jump awhile first." If Stanton jumped high at any time the leaders of the rebellion had the greatest cause of complaint. Stanton's record as a Cabinet officer is eminently an exalted one—one to which his countrymen point with pride and elation. A few days before the President's assassination Secretary Stanton tendered his resignation of the War Department. He accompanied the act with the most heartfelt tribute to the President's constant friendship and faithful devotion to the country, saying also that he as Secretary had accepted the position to hold it only until the war should end, and now he felt his work was done, and his duty was to resign. The President was greatly moved by the Secretary's words, and tearing to pieces the paper containing the resignation and throwing his arms around the Secretary, he said: "Stanton, you have been a good friend and a faithful public servant, and it is not for you to say when you will be no longer needed here." Several friends were present on the occasion and tears were in the eyes of all.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DIFFERENCES RELATIVE TO SLAVERY—REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

The most difficult and embarrassing question with which Mr. Lincoln had to contend during his administration, and in the prosecution of the war for the unity and perpetuity of the Union, was that of slavery.

There were two parties that could not, or would not, see that there was anything embarrassing or perplexing about it, or that he should have any hesitancy in treating it. One party was composed of those who regard the claims of slavery as superior to the constitution and the rights of slavery as the most sacred of all the rights which are guaranteed by that instrument. The other party was made up of those who regarded the abolition of slavery as the one thing to be secured, whatever else might be lost. The first denounced the President for having interfered with slavery at any time, in any way and for any purpose. The latter denounced him with equal bitterness for not having swept it out of existence the moment of the attack on Fort Sumter. These parties were numerous in the free States, and each was clamorous that its respective views and principles should be adopted by the administration. There was still a third party conservative on this question, opposed to slavery, and desirous of seeing it removed and abolished by constitutional and legal measures.

On this question of slavery, as in all others, the President acted on firm principles of his own, which he applied to the practical conduct of affairs as fast as the expediencies and necessities of the case required, and as fast as the public sentiment would sustain him in his action. The President's treatment of the slavery question was marked by characteristic features, and those were controlled and governed by his own views of slavery and by his determination to save and preserve the Union with or without slavery. No man held stronger convictions than Mr. Lincoln that slavery was morally, personally and politically wrong. He said : "If slavery is not wrong, then not anything is wrong." That it was morally and personally wrong was self-evident; that it was politically wrong he had been taught, and so he

understood the fathers of the republic. Their treatment of that question was fully conclusive to him that they so regarded it. Their prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern territory, and the published letters and opinions of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Jay and many others who took a conspicuous part in laying the foundation of the Government, showed that they regarded slavery as a great evil, inconsistent with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the teachings and spirit of Christianity. Their letters and published opinions clearly satisfied Lincoln and indicated that they confidently expected that it would gradually pass away before the power of civilization and freedom, as it had already done in many of the States, and that thus shrunk from what they considered insurmountable obstacles at that time to immediate emancipation, they consented to give the system certain advantages which they expected would be temporary and not dangerous to the stability of the Government. The framers of the Constitution were tender and sensitive on that point. They were careful that the word slave or slavery should not appear in that instrument; they were not willing that in future ages that notable text book should convey, even by implication, that they considered slavery one of the sheet anchors of the republic. They had, however, to deal with the institution as it then existed, and they did so gingerly and warily. They mentioned it as persons held to labor, and gave it such safe-guards as were absolutely necessary in the States where it then existed. The opinions and sentiments held by the framers of the Constitution were received and held as politic by the larger body of the Southern people at that day. The relation of master and slave was at that time considered more in the light of domestic and family relations than the servile and chattel relations which it afterwards assumed. In that day the family and parental relations were seldom severed by the sale of a portion of the family for transmission to labor for life in a distant State.

The invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793, and the opening up of the sugar plantations, about 1800, in Louisiana, gave a new phase to the condition of the slave, creating a great demand for slave labor which could only be supplied by the purchase of slaves in the non-producing cotton and sugar States and their removal to the cotton and sugar plantations, since the supply from Africa was closed—the slave trade and supply from that source being prohibited. Slaves now rose in value, and this turned the attention of many of the citizens of the non-producing cotton and sugar States to the raising of slaves to supply the demand, and the income of many citizens was counted and predicated on the number and value of the slaves they could raise to supply the increasing demand. This new condition of the slave

interest, the great increase in the value of slaves, and the increasing demand for slave labor had a material and national effect in the slave and free States in opposite directions. The principles and views held by many of the Southern people in reference to slavery in an early day had passed away, and slavery was now considered and upheld in the South as an excellent and profitable institution, and one to be fostered and extended in every way; while in the free States the opposition to its principles and to its extension was gathering strength and creating public sentiment which was in keeping with universal freedom, which seemed to be advancing throughout the civilized world. Mr. Lincoln, from early teachings of a christian mother, from personal observations and reading the writings of the fathers of the republic, had early in life imbibed those principles of anti-slavery which became the ruling feature of his political life. Those sentiments grew and strengthened with his observations of the effects of slavery in his own country, as well as in those countries where it was still tolerated.

In 1808, by the United States, the slave trade was abolished, in 1820, it was made an act of piracy; in 1818, Netherlands abolished the slave trade; Spain, in 1820; in 1834, the British Emancipation Act was passed; in 1846, Sweden abolished slavery; in 1848, France and Denmark passed similar enactments. In 1861, Nathaniel Gordon, master of the ship *Erie*, was arrested, tried, convicted and executed in New York under the laws making persons engaged in the slave trade guilty of piracy.

The writer has often heard Mr. Lincoln observe, that in a moral and personal view he saw but little difference in the magnitude of the crime between the captain of the vessel who purchased slaves and carried them away from home and friends in Africa to distant countries to spend a life of servitude, and the slave trader who purchased the husband or child in Virginia and conveyed them, manacled it might be, to work a life of servitude on the distant sugar plantations of Louisiana. Thus, from ideas garnered from the history of the republic, the increase of the anti-slavery feeling in the free States and the march of universal emancipation throughout the civilized world, Mr. Lincoln became satisfied that slavery was undergoing a process of ultimate extinction, and that would be the result finally in the United States; and feeling and acting under that view of the situation, he said, in his first speech after his nomination for Senator, in Springfield: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided." The method and means by which this result would be accomplished he believed would be by the prohibition of the further extension of slavery and the moral and christianizing influence, which would eventually lead the citi-

zens of the slave holding States to inaugurate and carry out a system of emancipation which would result in its entire extinction. Mr. Lincoln was fully in accord with Henry Clay in his views of gradual emancipation, and was present at Lexington, in 1846, when he delivered his great speech on that subject. Subsequently, Mr. Lincoln, closing one of his speeches, said: "Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life—he, Henry Clay—once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies of liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they do this, go back to the era of our independence and muzzle the cannon that thunders the joyous annual return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery."

A short time previous to Mr. Lincoln's first election to the Presidency, in an address to Kentuckians, he said, announcing his own principles and those of the Republican party in reference to slavery: "I say we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the outspreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade and the Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either Congress or Courts."

These principles enunciated by Lincoln on this occasion were the fundamental tenets and dogmas of the Republican party on slavery when they came into power, and how they were observed will be noted in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE REBELLION—THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL.

At the National Republican Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln for President, the following resolution in the platform was adopted :

“ Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as amongst the gravest of crimes.”

In the session of Congress in the Winter of 1860-61, which was largely Republican, the following resolution was passed :

“ Resolved, That neither the Federal Government, nor the people, or the government of the non slave-holding States, have the right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of the slave States holding slaves in the Union.”

And still further to place the Republican party on positive ground, the same Congress passed a resolution recommending such an amendment to the Constitution as would forever put it out of the power of the Government or the people of the United States. It was in the following words : *“ Article 13. No amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.”*

President Lincoln, in his inaugural on the 4th of March, said, referring to this amendment to the constitution : *“ I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.”* The Republican party and the President having by their public acts, on record given evidence to the world and to the people of the slave States that they were fully committed against all and every interference with slavery, in the slave-holding States, it would seem that the South

in its unnatural rebellion against the Government was left without any excuse. The real cause of the rebellion is to be found not so much in the fears of the leaders and public men of the South for the safety of their peculiar institution as in the loss of the control and patronage of the general Government.

Previous to 1860 and the admission of California into the Union, for half a century, with short, rare intervals, the South or slave States, had almost unlimited control of the Executive Department and patronage of the Government. They fed largely at the public crib, and they had so long enjoyed this highly esteemed favoritism that they had become to look upon it as a right established by long use and possession. It is true that the Democracy of the free States had shared in a measure in the distribution of public favors, and for these their subserviency to the Southern oligarchy was strikingly illustrated during President Buchanan's administration. The admission of California left the slave States in a minority, and the subsequent admission of Kansas and the prospective admission of other free States, destroyed the last lingering hope of slave supremacy in the councils of the Nation. This, and the growing public sentiment of the people of the free States, that free territory should remain free, were the chief moving causes of the rebellion against the Union.

It may be properly stated here that the South, in its treasonable movements, had material aid and sympathy from a portion of the press and leaders of the Democratic party, or copperheads, as they were styled. For years leaders, like President Buchanan, had been its submissive instruments, and the influence and numbers of those who secretly aided the South and openly espoused its cause did much to inaugurate and encourage the unnatural conflict. While this Northern sympathy gave aid and comfort to the secession movement, the Southern leaders had no cause to apprehend or fear any interference with slavery in the slave States. But in their zeal to fire the hearts of the Southern people they ignored the real causes and goaded the people to the adoption of desperate measures by the representation of their leaders in public addresses, and by the public press, that their dear and peculiar institution was really in danger of annihilation. In some of the slave States, meetings were held before the Presidential election, in which secession was advocated, and the leaders and public men in their public speeches strove earnestly to impress the minds of the people that their liberties and their peculiar institution were really in danger of being destroyed by the Yankee abolitionists, and urged them to arms and resistance against the authority and laws of the Union. In this act of resistance to the laws of the National Government, the leaders knew full well that their action at home must be called secession; rebellion would not do. They knew that the people

possessed too much moral sense, too much devotion to law and order, too much reverence and pride for the history and Government of their common country to engage in rebellion against it. The sophism that any State may consistently with the National Constitution lawfully and peaceably withdraw from the Union, without the consent of other sister States, they had been for thirty years impressing upon the mind of the Southern people, until they had brought, by their fallacious reasoning, a large number of citizens to embrace it, and to feel a willingness to take up arms against the Government to support it. The withdrawal of the States from the Union was secession—State rights intensified. The seizure by the State authorities of the property of the national Government, forts, mints, custom-houses and the attack on Fort Sumpter was rank treason and rebellion against the Government and laws, inaugurated and carried into execution before the powers of the Government had taken action or measures to prevent those insane and unlawful aggressions on the Constitution and laws of the United States.

To state the enormity of the rebellion would be very difficult, as it has no parallel in history. It was wanting in honor, justice or justification. The pretext in part was the election of a Republican to the Presidency. This excuse loses all its force because the entire South, becoming a party and taking a part in the election, bound itself to abide the result. The rebel States, by their attack on Fort Sumpter, the seizure of all the property of the Government within their borders, the issuing of letters of marque by their President to rebel cruisers, authorizing the seizure and confiscation of the vessels and property of loyal citizens of the United States on the high seas, had thereby severed their relations and obligations to the Federal Government as far as it was possible for them to do, thereby relieving President Lincoln of all moral, legal and constitutional obligations to preserve intact their peculiar institution. Still, the President and Congress, in the special session in July following, by enactments and resolutions declared that the war for the suppression of the rebellion was waged only to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired, and that as soon as these objects were accomplished and secured the war would and ought to cease. In the meantime, the war went on and Congress met in its regular session, December, 1861. It was now evident that Congress was disposed to change its policy relative to the slavery question. The forbearance of the Government in regard to slavery had entirely failed to soften the hostility of the rebels, and it was now well known that within the rebel lines slaves were freely employed in the construction of fortifications, and in contributing in this and other ways very largely to the strength of the rebellion. The whole country, under the influence of these facts, began to

regard slavery as not only the cause of the rebellion, but as the main strength for the support of its armies, and the bond of union for the rebel forces.

Congress, representing and sharing in this feeling, entered promptly and zealously upon such measures as this state of affairs would suggest. During this session a bill was passed abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, also a bill prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States. The President, believing that the time was steadily approaching when in consequence of this obstinate persistence in rebellion the fate of slavery in all the States would necessarily be involved, he wisely sought to reconcile the shock which the contest would involve with the order of the country, and the permanent prosperity of all classes of the people.

The people were still disposed to exhaust every means which justice would allow in order to withdraw the people of the Southern States from the disastrous war in which they were involved by their leaders, and they welcomed the following suggestion of the President, which was introduced in Congress by Hon. R. Conkling of New York in the shape of the following resolution:

“Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.”

This resolution was passed and approved by the President on the 10th of April, 1862. It fully recognized the full and complete control of the Southern States over slavery within their own limits, and tendered to them the aid of the general Government in any steps they might be inclined to take to rid themselves of it. It was an offering that might be accepted by one State or by all the States. The President, fully believing that the war if long continued would result in the entire extinction of slavery, on the 12th day of July called the members of Congress from the loyal border States to a conference at the Executive Mansion and urged them to take steps for emancipation in their respective States under the resolution before mentioned. Among other arguments which he used, he said: “You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition, and at least commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you would perpetuate popular Government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action, to bring speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world, its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future assured

and rendered inconceivably grand. To you more than to any others the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur."

Events were now rapidly bringing the people to the inevitable conclusion that if the war was long continued slavery would give way to freedom. The President endeavored, as well by his official acts as by his earnest appeal to the patriotism of the loyal slave States, to induce and persuade them to embrace the offer of the Government for compensation for their slaves in the event of their taking measures for their emancipation. But they rejected the generous offer—turned away from the entreaties of the President until freedom came, with the loss which he saw would ultimately and necessarily follow.

As I write those words of entreaty and patriotism to the representatives of the loyal slave States by the President, I look out and see the grand old flag of our country at half mast in every part of the city. It is Decoration Day. This day, the resting place of the good President and thousands of brave men who gave their lives for the preservation of our beloved Union and for the security and happiness of future ages will be decorated and consecrated by loyal hands and hearts, and the decorations of the graves of the heroic dead by those emblems of beauty, love, peace and affection which soften and sanctify our memories for the departed, reach out in trust and assure us of hope and confidence for the future. We are reminded of our duty and the occasion by the martyr President, who said, "It is right for us to be here dedicated to the great task before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

CHAPTER XXIX.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

The acts of Congress and those of the President, together with the President's revocation of the proclamations of General Fremont of August 31, 1861, and that of General Hunter of May 9, 1862, issued in their respective departments, freeing the slaves therein, is conclusive evidence that up to this time, July, 1862, the prosecution of the war against the rebels was waged only for the restoration of the National authority, and for the security and perpetuity of the Union. The Act of Congress offering compensation to any State that would favor emancipation was intended more particularly for the loyal slave States, although any rebel State could partake of its benefits by return to the Union. In the revocation of General Hunter's order by the President, is one of the most touching and beautiful appeals ever written. In that paper, the President, referring to the Act of Congress pledging the Nation to compensation, said: "To the people of those States I now earnestly appeal. I do not argue, I beseech you to make the argument yourselves; you cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, it may be, far above personal or partisan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches on any. It acts not the Pharisee. The changes it contemplates would come gently as the dews of Heaven—not rending or breaking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it."

The loyal people were becoming restive and tired of the Government's protection of slavery in the rebel States, and they had just reasons to be so. The President knew and felt this, but he could not forsake the friends of the Union in the border States until he had saved them, and saved them for the Union. And it is worthy of remark here, that while the rebel leaders were teaching and telling their people that the war was being waged against them for the destruction of slavery, at the same time the rebel emissaries in

England were striving to effect the public sentiment there against the Union by representing that President Lincoln was, by his revocation of the orders of Generals Fremont and Hunter, endeavoring to save slavery with the Union.

The subject of emancipation which President Lincoln pressed upon the members of Congress from the loyal slave States at the Executive Mansion elicited a reply from a number of them. The following is an extract from their response: "But, on the other hand, we meet your address in the spirit in which it was made, and as loyal Americans declare to you and to the world that there is no sacrifice that we are not willing to make to save the Government and institutions of our fathers; that we, few of us it may be, will not permit any man from the North or South to go further than we in the accomplishment of the great work before us. That in order to carry out our views, we will, so far as it may be in our power, ask the people of the border States to calmly, deliberately and fairly consider your recommendations. We are the more emboldened to assume this position from the fact now become history, that the leaders of the Southern rebellion have offered to abolish slavery amongst them as a condition of foreign intervention in favor of their independence as a nation. If they can give up slavery to destroy the Union, we can surely ask our people to consider the question to save the Union."

The President, with thousands of citizens of the free States, realized fully the fact that the attack of the rebels on Fort Sumpter at that time decided at once and forever the fate of slavery in the United States. The constitutional obligations of the Government in reference to that institution had by the act of the rebels been dissolved, and its extinction or gradual emancipation was now demanded by the people; and the President, having now done all he could accomplish by personal appeals and official action for the loyal citizens in the border States, was now prepared to take measures and act as the indications of the public mind demanded. Two other important measures received the attention of Congress during this session. One was a bill authorizing the issue of treasury notes to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and the other was the enactment of a law confiscating the property of the rebels. One of the distinctive features of this bill was section 6 which prescribed, "That any person being engaged in the rebellion who should not, within sixty days after public proclamation duly made by the President, cease to aid the rebellion, should have his property confiscated in the manner provided." The passage of this bill was a very important step in the prosecution of the war for the suppression of the rebellion. It gave the rebels to understand distinctly that one of the penalties, if they persisted

in their resistance to the authority of the United States, would be the emancipation of their slaves.

Congress adjourned on the 17th of July, having passed many measures of marked, though of minor importance, besides those mentioned to aid in the prosecution of the war. Public sentiment sustained the action of Congress and the President as adapted to the emergency. After the adjournment of Congress the demands of the people for immediate and unconditional emancipation became clamorous and importune. The President was called upon to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the passage of the Confiscation Bill to declare the instant liberation of every slave belonging to a rebel master.

Those demands were embodied with force and effect in a letter to the President from Horace Greeley, published in the *New York Tribune* on the 19th of August, 1862. A portion of the President's reply is here subjoined: "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more when I believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish, that all men everywhere could be free."

Previous to this answer of the President to the Greeley letter, the draft of the emancipation proclamation had been written, but the time for its submission to the Cabinet for its approval, in the opinion of the President, had not yet arrived. There can be no doubt as to the President's policy by which he expected to re-establish the authority of the Constitution over the whole of the United States. His "paramount object" in every thing he did was to "save the Union." The question of slavery was a secondary consideration. He delayed, therefore, for a long time the issue of such a proclamation as he was authorized to make by the sixth section of the Confiscation Act of Congress—awaiting the development of public sentiment on the subject—waiting for the assurance that it would receive the support of the great body of the people of the country without regard to party. In the month of August the President called a Cabinet meeting. None of the members knew the object of the meeting, but all were present. After some delay the President

arose and announced the object of the meeting. He had written a proclamation of emancipation, and had determined to issue it. He had not called them to ask their advice on the general question, because he had determined that for himself. He wished to inform them of his purpose, and to receive such suggestions on minor points as they might be moved to make. All approved the measure except Postmaster Blair, who thought there should be deferred action, at least until after the Fall elections. Secretary Chase thought the language could be made stronger, particularly in reference to arming and employing the blacks in the armies of the Union. No particular suggestions were made by other members of the Cabinet, except by Secretary Seward. He said: "Mr. President, I approve the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. I think the measure should be delayed until it can be given to the country, upheld by military success." Secretary Seward further remarked, that the issue at this time, while the country was in a state of excitement from the disastrous failure of the Army of the Potomac, would be claimed by the friends of disunion that the administration were driven to the pressing need of turning to the colored element for help and assistance. The President felt the force and point of the argument of the Secretary, and it was understood, on the adjournment of the Cabinet, that the time of its issue would remain in abeyance for a short period. This meeting of the Cabinet was held at the time General McClellan and the army had reached Harrison's landing on James river after the seven days' fighting and retreat from the Chicahominy. The proclamation was held in suspense from that time until after the battle of Antietam, which was fought on the 17th of September. On the 22d of September, 1862, the preparatory proclamation was issued. It was a notice to the country and to the rebels showing what it was his purpose to do in reference to slavery if the rebellion against the Government was continued. The rebels were clearly informed and notified that unless they laid down their arms and returned to the Union before the 1st day of January, 1863, their slaves should be then and forever free. This proclamation caused a lull in the intense controversy in reference to the President's duty in regard to slavery. All parties were now looking for and anxiously awaiting to see what its effects would be on the States in rebellion and on the Fall elections. This proclamation was received with intense interest by all parties. The Republicans were well pleased. The Union Democrats admitted the necessity of the measure, while the opponents of the administration in the loyal States as well as those in sympathy with treason everywhere, insisted that the object of the war was not so much for the restoration of the Union as the abolition of slavery. The fruits of the proclamation became an anchor to the administration, and the results were glorious and satisfactory to the country, to every

lover of the Union, and to the lovers of freedom throughout the world. The first proclamation is as follows :

“I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter as heretofore the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relations between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

“That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tending pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the slave States so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits ; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

“That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall there be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then thenceforward and forever free ; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any effort they may make for their actual freedom.

“That the execution will, on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States ; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States.

“That attention is hereby called to an Act of Congress entitled ‘ An Act to make an additional article of war,’ approved March 13, 1862, and which Act is in the words and figures following :

‘ Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the Government of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such :

‘ Article —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from using any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed

to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

'Section 2. And be it further enacted, that this Act shall take effect from and after its passage.'

"Also to the ninth and ten sections of an Act entitled An Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes, approved July 16, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures as following, to wit:

'Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereunto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and all slaves found or being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war and shall be forever free of their servitudes, and not again held as slaves.

'Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereunto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.'

"And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey and enforce, within their respective sphere of service, the Act and sections above recited.

"And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereunto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or destroyed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington this 22d

day of September, in the the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

“WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.”

In the meantime the one hundred days passed away, and on the 1st day of January, 1863, the final proclamation of emancipation was issued, and the great act was complete. It is as follows:

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual rebellion against the authority of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above mentioned, order designated as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Renne, Lafouche, St. Mary, St. Martin and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And by virtue of the power and for the purposes aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforth shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons.

“And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them, that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

“And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

“And upon this act, sincerely believing it to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

"WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

F. B. Carpenter, who painted the memorable scene of the first reading in Cabinet council of the Emancipation Proclamation, says:

"First, is the 'Magna Charter' wrested by the Barons of England from King John; second, the Declaration of Independence; and third, worthy to be placed upon the tablets of history, side by side with the two first is Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation."

Bishop Simpson said, as he was about to commit the remains of its author to the tomb:

"May we not assert that Abraham Lincoln, by his proclamation, liberated more enslaved people than Moses set free, and those not of his kindred or race. Such a power or such an opportunity, God has seldom given to man. When other events shall have been forgotten, when this world shall become a net work of republics, when every throne shall be swept from the face of the earth, when literature shall enlighten all minds, when the claims of humanity shall be recognized everywhere, this act shall still be conspicuous in the ages of history. We are thankful that God gave Abraham Lincoln the decision, wisdom and grace to issue that proclamation, which stands high above all other papers which have been penned by uninspired men."

On one of the public squares in the Nation's capital stands a bronze group entitled "Emancipation." President Lincoln, holding in his hand the Emancipation Proclamation, looks tenderly down on a poor kneeling slave to whom he reaches a helping hand. The whips and the broken manacles of slavery lie scattered around. It is the finest piece of statuary that adorns the capital grounds, and was erected from funds given by the liberated slaves. The first contribution was from Charlotte Scott, a freed woman, who gave five dollars, being her first earnings in freedom and consecrated by her on the day she heard of Lincoln's death, to build a monument to his memory. The pen of the historian is here powerless to express the blissful gratitude and the exultant joy of the long oppressed race as they gaze on this symbol of their freedom, and raise their tearful eyes to him who lifted them from the degradation of slavery to upright manhood.

CHAPTER XXX.

REASONS FOR EMANCIPATION—BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

The position and action of President Lincoln in regard to his policy and treatment of slavery was peculiar. Had he taken council of his own abstract opinions and sympathies and proclaimed emancipation at the beginning of the rebellion, and ratified the action of those department officers who assumed to do it themselves,*the first effect would, without doubt, have been to have driven all the border States into union with the rebellious States, and have added their large forces to the armies of the Confederacy. Further results would have been to arouse the political opposition in the loyal States to renewed activity by giving it a fresh pretext for its secession, utterances and sentiments, and would have divided the great body of those who agreed in defending the Union, but who did not agree in regard to the abolition of slavery. Candid men who pay more regard to facts than to theory, and who can estimate with fairness the results of public action, will see that the probable results of these several influences would have given great strength to the Confederacy, and so have weakened the Union cause as to have overpowered the administration and have given to the rebellion success and victory. Time, the development of events, the ripening conviction of the necessity of such a measure were indispensable as preliminary conditions of its success, and by the awaiting of and the development of public opinion President Lincoln secured a support absolutely essential to success; and there are but few persons to be found, whatever may be their private opinion as to slavery, who will not concede that his measures in reference to that subject were adopted with sagacity, and prosecuted to completion with a patient wisdom which crowned them with final success. In the treatment of this subject, as upon every other, he aimed at practical results instead of indulgence in theory. He used no power over slavery until the necessity had arisen by which alone its exercise under the Constitution could be vindicated, and he went no further and no faster in the steps he took for its abolishment than public sentiment would warrant and sustain

him in doing. His policy secured the final abolition of slavery. It not only decreed the result but it secured it in such a way and by such successive steps each demanded by the special exigency of its own occasion as to command the acquiescence of most of the slave States.

The President, in his letter of April 4, 1864, to Mr. Hodges of Kentucky, states with characteristic force the motives by which his action had been governed. He said: "I did understand, however, that the very oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving by every indispensable means that Government—that Nation of which the Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the Nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save life, but a life is not wisely given to save a limb. I feel that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the Nation.

"Right or wrong I assumed this ground, and now I avow it. I could not feel to the best of my ability I had ever tried to preserve the Constitution if to preserve slavery or any minor matter I should permit the wreck of Government, country and Constitution altogether.

"When early in the war General Fremont attempted military emancipation I forbade it because I did not think it an indispensable necessity. When still later General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come.

"When in March, May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure.

"They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union and with it the Constitution, or laying strong hands on the colored element. I chose the latter."

After the battle of Fredericksburg in December, 1862, in which the Union army under General Burnside suffered a severe repulse, the Army of the Potomac remained inactive for several months. The military movements and events of 1863 were of signal importance, and the result gave hope and confidence to the loyal people of the Union. On the 24th of January General Burnside was relieved by the appointment of General Hooker to the command of the Army of the Potomac; but the inclemency of the season prevented any movement of the army until the 17th of April, when General Hooker, with three divisions of his army, crossed the Rappahanock and reached Chancellorville. General Stoneman had been sent with a strong cavalry to break the

railroads in the rear of the rebel army. In the meantime, a fourth division of the army had crossed the river and joined the army at Chancellorville, leaving one division under General Sedgwick opposite Fredericksburg. On the 2d day of May the left of the rebel army under General Jackson attacked the right of the Union army and gained a decided advantage of position, which was recovered before the day closed. In this day's battle General Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded. The battle was renewed the next day; the advantage remained with the enemy. In the meantime, General Sedgwick crossed the river with his division and occupied Fredericksburg, and attacked and carried the rebel fortifications on the heights in rear of the city. In consequence of the Union reverses at Chancellorville, on the night of the 5th General Hooker withdrew his army to the north bank of the river, having sustained a severe loss of men, killed and prisoners.

Both armies remained inactive until June 9, when it was ascertained that General Lee, with the rebel army, was moving up through the Shenandoah valley. They pressed General Milroy back on Harper's Ferry, and on the 14th of June the rebel army began to cross the Potomac and advanced to Hagerstown, Maryland, with the evident intention of invading Pennsylvania. This movement of the rebel army created the most intense excitement throughout the country. President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for one hundred thousand men from the States most directly menaced, New York being called upon for twenty thousand. As soon as the movement of the rebel forces from Fredericksburg was discovered, the Union army marched northward on a line parallel with the enemy, and on the 27th of June the Union army reached Frederick City, Maryland, being interposed between the rebel army and Baltimore and Washington, and were prepared to follow them into Pennsylvania. On the 27th General Hooker was relieved from the command of the army at his own request and the appointment was conferred on General Meade, who at once ordered an advance into Pennsylvania in the direction of Harrisburg, which place the rebels were rapidly approaching. On the 1st day of July, the Union army advance, consisting of the first and eleventh army corps under command of Generals Reynolds and Howard, came in contact with the enemy's advance in force near the town of Gettysburg, and attacked them with success. The rebels being reinforced later in the day, the Union forces were compelled to fall back to Cemetery hill, under General Howard, and await reinforcements. In this engagement General Reynolds was killed, and the advantage remained with the enemy. During the night, the second, third, fifth and twelfth corps arrived and were posted around and on Cemetery ridge to support the first and eleventh corps. At 2 o'clock P. M. on the second day the sixth corps arrived after a march of thirty-two miles, and were placed in reserve. At 3 o'clock P. M. the battle

was opened by a furious and determined onset by Lee, whose forces were massed in great strength on Seminary ridge about one mile in front of the Union troops. The attack was made upon the third corps, which was the left of the Union line, by the rebels, with all their enthusiastic bravado. The third corps met the shock with heroic firmness. General Sickels was severely wounded early in the action, and General Birney, who succeeded in command of the third corps, was finally pressed back in line with the Union forces, which position General Meade intended General Sickels with the third corps should have occupied early in the day. Here, aided by the first and sixth corps, the position was held until sunset, when the enemy was repelled with loss, leaving our troops in the position that General Meade intended they should hold. A desperate attempt was made by the enemy to take and hold Round Top, the left of the Union position, but General Sykes, with the fifth corps, was enabled, after a severe and bloody contest, to repulse the enemy and hold the hill against the repeated attempts to take it. On the Union's right the withdrawal of a division from Slocum's corps enabled Ewell with a superior force to crowd back Slocum considerably and seize some of the rifle pits; but this attack of the enemy on the Union forces gave them no advantage. The battle of the second day closed at dark; the results of the day gave the rebels encouragement and hopes that favorable results would follow, but subsequent events proved that their anticipations were illusive.

Lee, in his official report says: "After a severe struggle, Longstreet succeeded in getting possession of and holding the desired ground. Ewell also carried some of the strong positions which he assailed, and the result was such as to lead to the belief that he would be able to dislodge the enemy. The battle ceased at dark. These partial successes determined me to continue the assault the next day."

The battle opened the next morning, July 3, on the right of the Union line, where Slocum—his division having returned from the left of the Union line—pressed his corps forward to retake the rifle pits. He was successful, and after a severe contest, he re-established his line and held it during the day. Not here, but on the Union center, was the last, final effort to be made by the rebels to secure and maintain a foothold on free soil. They seemed to apprehend that their failure this day would decide the fate of their Confederacy. In the meantime Lee had reinforced Longstreet with three fresh brigades under Pickett, a division from Ewell, and two divisions from Hill's corps. The rebel left was firmly established, and its batteries planted on the ridge whence the Union forces had been forced back the previous day. The Union line was prepared for the coming contest. The Union soldiers were silent but anxious spectators, while the rebels were making their preparations

and planting their batteries for the supreme effort which was to decide the momentous issue—the unity of the Nation and fate of the Southern Confederacy. The forenoon was one of anxious expectation in the Union lines, occasionally broken by futile firing here and there along the line. The rebels having finished their preparations, at 1 P. M. the signal was given and one hundred and twenty-five guns from Longstreet and Hill's front opened their fire on the Union center and left, which was continued without intermission over two hours. The Union artillery replied, while the infantry, availing themselves of every means of shelter from the iron hail, awaited patiently the expected charge, and at 3 P. M., from behind the rebel batteries came their infantry in line of battle, 18,000 strong, preceded by skirmishers, and supported by a line of reserves, moving rapidly to the charge upon Cemetery hill, especially upon the front extending on the left to Round Top. The result is graphically described by Agate: "The final struggle, the last great, desperate charge, came at 4 P. M. The rebels had gathered up all their strength for one fierce convulsive effort that should creep over and crush out the very existence of the Union army. They swept up to the contest, the flower of their army to the front, victory staked on the issue. In some places they lifted up and pushed back the Union line, but that secure position of our troops was firmly held. Wherever the enemy entered it inflaming fires from half a score of crests swept away their columns like chaff. Broken and hurled back, they easily fell into the hands of the Union boys, and on the center and left the last half hour brought more prisoners than all the rest. So it was along the whole line; but it was on the second corps that the flower of the rebel army was concentrated. It was there that the heaviest shock beat upon and sometimes crumbled the Union line. Here came Pickett's splendid division of Longstreet's corps in front, and the best of Hill's veterans in support. They came steadily and, as it seemed, resistlessly sweeping up. From a hundred guns their artillery had covered their approach. Hancock was wounded. Gibbons, an approved soldier, and ready for the crisis, succeeded to the command. As the tempest of fire approached its height, he walked along the line, renewing his orders to the men to reserve their fire. The rebels—then three lines deep—came steadily up. They were in point blank range. At last the order came. From thrice six thousand guns there came a sheet of flame, a crash, a rush of leaden death. The line melted away, but there came the second line, resistless still. The first had been our supreme effort; at the instant, the Union boys were not equal to another. Over the barricades, the momentum of their charge swept them on. Our thin lines could fight, but it had not the strength to oppose this momentum—it was pushed behind the guns. Right on came the rebels, but they had come too far; a storm of grape and cannister tore its way from man to man, and marked

its track with the fallen straight down their line. This exposure of their line to the Union artillery had sealed their fate. The line fell back, disjointed already. The Union boys were just behind the guns. They spang forward upon the broken column, but there was little need of fighting now. A regiment threw down their arms and colors; all along the line smaller detachments did the same. Webb's brigade brought in eight hundred prisoners. Gibbons took fifteen stand of colors. Over the field the escaped fragments of the charging line fell back—the battle was over."

The rebels found that it was a fatal, fruitless sacrifice. It was not a rout, it was a bitter, crushing defeat. For once and the first time the Army of the Potomac had won an acknowledged, honest and dearly bought victory. This battle was the most severe and hotly contested of the war, and the losses on both sides for the number engaged has no parallel in any engagement. The Union loss was 23,286 killed and wounded—one-fourth of the number engaged. The rebel loss was much larger in killed and wounded, and 13,621 prisoners; one-third of their effective force was killed, wounded and prisoners.

On the morning of the 4th of July the President issued the following: "Washington, July 4, 11:30 A. M. The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac up to 10 o'clock, P. M. is such as to cover the army with the highest honor, to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim condolence for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires on this day, He whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered and revered with profoundest gratitude."

CHAPTER XXXI.

LEE'S RETREAT—CAPTURE OF VICKSBURG—BRAGG'S DEFEAT.

As the smoke of the battle drifts away over the town of Gettysburg, fancy pictures standing on the crest of Cemetery ridge, the genius of Columbia, as she looks with sadness over the field of battle, and views the dead and wounded numbered by thousands, and in her imagination is vividly painted the tens of thousands of widows and orphans made in the terrible conflict. She turns to the soldier in gray and asks, "Why this unnatural and deadly strife between brothers and countrymen? Why is our heretofore peaceful and happy country drenched in fratricidal blood?" The soldier turns away as he answers: "It is for the security, perpetuity and extension of slavery." To the soldier in blue she turns and the same questions are propounded. The soldier in blue answers: "For Nationality, Government and law, for the Constitution, for freedom and for humanity." And as hope now irradiates the countenance in place of sadness, the gentle twilight steals on apace, and the illusion vanishes, and darkness comes on over the field of battle, and the stillness is broken only by the measured tread of the sentinel, and the click of the ambulance wheels as they slowly roll to the hospitals with their mangled burdens. Midnight has come, and all is still save the sound of the wind passing over the battlefield with its weird, sibilant voice singing a requiem to the unburied dead who await the rites of sepulture on the morrow. On the morning of the 4th of July the Union army were in position ready for the enemy, should they be disposed to renew the conflict. But General Lee found that his troops had been so badly punished that a renewal of the battle would result more disastrously than on the preceding day. The roll call on the morning of the 4th showed that his veterans, the flower of his army, were missing, killed, wounded or prisoners, and in a council of his officers, called on the morning of the 4th, it was advised to retreat, and, if possible, save the remnant of the army by reaching and crossing the Potomac. On the night of the 4th the retreat commenced, and pursuit was made by the

Union army on the 5th and was continued without bringing on an engagement until the rebels reached their former position on the Rappahannock.

In December, 1862, General N. T. Banks, appointed to succeed General Butler in the military department of Louisiana, arrived at New Orleans with a large force, and at once took possession of Baton Rouge. On the 21st of December General Sherman started for Memphis with his command, and passed down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Yazoo, above Vicksburg, ascended that river, landed, and made an attack on Vicksburg from the rear. The fighting continued for three days, and the army advanced to within two miles of the city, but on the 30th they were repulsed with severe loss. On the 2d of January General McClernard arrived and assumed command, and the taking of Vicksburg for the time seemed hopeless. The capture of Arkansas Post redeemed the failure in some degree. In February, General Grant having been placed in command, the attack on Vicksburg was to be renewed. Various plans and measures were undertaken to get in the rear of the place so as to command the river above and below, but they were all abandoned, and General Grant determined with his vessels to boldly run down the river, by the city and the rebel batteries, which he did successfully, and marched his army down on the opposite side to Brucassburg, sixty-five miles below Vicksburg, where he crossed on the 30th of April, and advanced upon Fort Gibson, where he was opposed by General Bowen, who was defeated with a loss of killed, wounded and prisoners of fifteen hundred men. General Grant then marched with his army upward towards Vicksburg, and again met the enemy at Raymond, May 12th, and the defeated them, with a loss of eight hundred men. On May 14th Union forces near Jackson met the rebels under J. E. Johnson. The enemy was defeated, and the capital of the State of Mississippi, with seventeen pieces of artillery and large stores of supplies, was captured. General Grant then turned his course west for Vicksburg. General Pemberton, the commander of that city, advanced with his forces with the hope of checking his advance, but he was defeated on the 16th at Baker's creek, losing four thousand men and twenty-nine pieces of artillery. On the next day the same forces were overtaken at Big Black Bridge, ten miles from Vicksburg, and defeated with a loss of 2600 men and seventeen pieces of artillery. On the 18th Vicksburg was closely invested, and the rebels were completely shut up within the city. An attempt was made to carry the enemy's work by storm, but the assault failed, and a regular siege was at once adopted by the land forces, in which the armed vessels in the river joined. The investment was pressed with much vigor, and the Union works were drawing closer every day. The enemy was known to be short of supplies, and their only hope was that General Johnson would be able to collect an army sufficient to raise the

siege by attacking Grant in his rear. General Grant had provided for this emergency by ordering General Sherman to pay his respects to General Johnson and counteract any movement on the part of that General to relieve Vicksburg. General Sherman performed that duty so effectually that no serious attempt was made to relieve the enemy. With no prospect of succor, General Pemberton therefore proposed to surrender Vicksburg on the morning of the 4th of July, on condition that his troops should be permitted to march out. General Grant refused, and demanded an absolute surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war. General Pemberton called a council of his officers, and acceded to the terms demanded by General Grant.

The historian states that the Union loss from the time General Grant ran by Vicksburg up to the time of its capture was, killed, 1343; wounded, 7095; missing, 535; total, 8773. The rebel loss was, killed and wounded, 10,000; prisoners, 43,000; missing, 3000; total, 56,000; 220 cannons and 70,000 stands of small arms. The Union was now receiving back a portion of the guns and small arms sent South during President Buchanan's administration. The surrender of Vicksburg was immediately followed by that of Port Hudson, which surrendered to Banks July 8th, with 7000 prisoners and fifty cannons and a large quantity of small arms. The value of these captures was not estimated by the list of prisoners and the number of small arms, but by the fact that the Confederacy was cut in twain. And as President Lincoln said, "The father of waters goes unvexed to the sea." General Sherman said: "The two victories occurring at the same time, the one at Gettysburg defensive and the other at Vicksburg offensive, should have ended the war; but the rebel leaders were mad, and seemed determined that their people should drink the very lowest dregs of the cup of war, which they themselves had prepared." Writing in reference to the capture of Vicksburg, he said: "The campaign of Vicksburg, in its conception and execution, belongs exclusively to General Grant, not only in the great whole, but in the thousands of its details. I still retain many of his letters and notes, all in his own handwriting, prescribing the routes for march for divisions and detachments, specifying even the amount of food and tools to be carried along. Many persons gave his Adjutant-General, Rawlins, credit for these things, but they were in error, for no Commanding General of an army gave more of his personal attention to detail, or wrote so many of his own orders as General Grant. His success at Vicksburg justly gave him great fame at home and abroad. The President conferred on him the rank of Major-General in the regular army, then existing by law, and General McPherson and I shared in his success by receiving similar commissions as Brigadier-Generals in the regular army."

These victories gave great satisfaction and encouragement to the President and to the loyal citizens of the Union, and left no doubt now of the final success and triumph of the National cause. A very characteristic utterance of the President in connection with these events was a letter written to General Grant on the 13th of July, in which the President took occasion to acknowledge that results had confirmed the General's judgment rather than his own: "My Dear General—I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgement for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I write to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports and thus go below—and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf and vicinity, I thought you should go below and down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I wish now to make the personal acknowledgement that you were right and I was wrong." This commendation of General Grant was but the echo of the voice of the whole country and people. The President, as well as the whole country, felt that one man at least had been found who was thoroughly in earnest, and who was master of his profession. The capture of Vicksburg, with its preliminary battles, was the work of a great general, and one of the most important, as well as the most brilliant and successful, feats of the war.

While General Grant was engaged at Vicksburg, General Rosecrans was paying his respects to the rebel General, Bragg, in Tennessee. On the 25th of June, General Rosecrans advanced on the enemy at Tullahoma, made an attack, driving Bragg and his army back in confusion, and he kept his retreat until he reached Chattanooga. Rosecrans came up with him August 21st, and then Bragg retreated again, but on the 19th of September, having received reinforcements from Lee's army, he turned and made an attack on the Union army. The engagement was a severe one; a portion of the Union army was compelled to fall back in confusion, but General Thomas, with his division, held the enemy at bay until night, when he fell back, and the Union army was for some time shut up in Chattanooga. The loss in this engagement was very heavy on both sides. But the rebels gained no decisive advantage. In October, General Rosecrans was superceded by General Grant, who assumed the offensive. The army of Tennessee was reinforced by General Hooker's command from the Army of the Potomac, and General Sherman arrived with his command on the 25th of November. General Grant, immediately on the arrival of these reinforcements, made preparations to attack the rebel

positions, and on the 15th of November the different divisions of the Union army moved to the assault of the enemy's lines. The range of heights known as Missionary Ridge, which was strongly fortified and held by General Bragg in force, was assaulted by the Union veterans, led by General Hooker, and supported by General Thomas, with his command. After a desperate and prolonged struggle, the heights were carried in gallant style by the Union troops, and the rebels were driven pell-mell from the ridge in confusion, completely routed. General Sherman was equally successful in his attack on the enemy's position, and the rebels at all points fell back, and were by Generals Thomas and Hooker pursued and forced back into Georgia. General Sherman, with his corps, was sent into East Tennessee to relieve General Burnside. His wonderful march of forty miles a day for several successive days has hardly been equaled in modern times. General Longstreet, who had been pressing General Burnside and his small support at Knoxville, being apprised of General Sherman's rapid approach, determined to carry General Burnside's defenses by assault, but the attempt was a signal and disastrous failure and defeat, and before General Sherman arrived he raised the siege and retreated across the mountains into Virginia. The defeat of General Bragg and his expulsion from Tennessee, and the failure of General Longstreet in his siege of Knoxville, were the source and cause of much chagrin and disappointment to the rebels, and a corresponding cause of encouragement and congratulation to the loyal citizens, and filled all hearts with joy and exultation.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—FINANCIAL POLICY—CHARACTERISTIC INCIDENTS.

The third session of the Thirty-seventh Congress met on the 1st day of December, 1862, the administration having a large majority in both Houses. The general condition of the country, and the progress made towards the restoration of the Union, and the quelling of the rebellion were set forth at great length in the message of President Lincoln, which was sent in to Congress at the opening of the session. The following is an extract from the closing part of his message:

“Fellow-citizens—We cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or the other of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generations. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this.

“We know how to save the Union. The world knows we know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility.

“In giving freedom to the slave we assume freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not, cannot fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous and just. A way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.”

At the very commencement of the session resolutions were introduced by the opponents of the administration, censuring in strong terms its arrest of those in the loyal States who gave aid and comfort to the rebellion. It is a matter of history that at the outset of the war, every department of the Government, and every part of the country was filled with spies and informers, giving information to the rebel authorities; and that in repeated and numerous instances the plans and purposes of the Government had been betrayed and defeated by these abettors and aiders of treason. In this state of affairs it became absolutely necessary, not so much for punish-

ment as for prevention, to arrest these men in the injurious and perhaps fatal actions in which they were engaged, and in this action the administration was vindicated and fully justified by Congress.

A bill was introduced on the 8th of December, and passed, declaring the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus to have been required by the public safety, making all acts by the President, and all acts of his officers by his orders valid, and all prosecutions against them void. It also authorized the President, during the war, to declare the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus at such time and in such places and with regard to such persons as in his judgment the public safety should require. One of the most important acts of the session was that which provided for the creation of a National force by enrolling and drafting the militia of the whole country—each State being required to contribute its quota in the ratio of its population, and the whole force, when raised, to be under the control of the President. This measure seemed necessary by the revival of the party spirit throughout the loyal States, and by the active and effective efforts made by the Democratic party to discourage and prevent volunteering. So successful had they been in this work, that the Government seemed likely to fail in its efforts to raise men for another campaign, and it was to avert this threatening evil that the bill was brought forward in Congress. It encountered violent opposition and resistance from the Democratic party, and particularly from those members whose sympathies with the secessionists were the most distinctly marked. The bill passed the House by a vote of one hundred and fifteen to forty-nine, and being concurred in by the Senate, became a law. The Financial bill, as passed at this session, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow and issue bonds for nine hundred millions of dollars at not more than 6 per cent. interest, and payable at a time not less than ten nor more than forty years. It also authorized the Secretary to issue treasury notes to the amount of four hundred millions of dollars, bearing interest, and also notes not bearing interest to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. A joint resolution was also passed authorizing the issue of treasury notes to the amount of one hundred millions of dollars to meet the immediate wants of the soldiers and sailors in the service. The President announced his approval of this resolution by a message to Congress, from which we make the following extract, giving his financial views: "That Congress has power to regulate the currency of the country can hardly admit of doubt, and that a judicious measure to prevent the deterioration of this currency, by a reasonable taxation of bank circulation or otherwise, is needed seems equally clear. Independently of this general consideration, it would be unjust to the people at large to exempt banks enjoying the special privileges of circulation, from their just proportion of the public burdens. In order to raise money by way

of loans most easily and cheaply, it is clearly necessary to give every possible support to the public credit. This and a uniform currency, in which taxes, subscriptions, loans and all other ordinary public dues may be paid, are almost, if not quite indispensable. Such a currency can be furnished by banking associations authorized under a general Act of Congress, as suggested in my message at the beginning of the present session. The securing of this circulation by the pledge of United States bonds, as herein suggested, would still further facilitate loans by increasing the present, and causing a future demand for such bonds." A second bill in relation to finance, to provide a National currency, secured by a pledge of United States stocks, and to provide for the circulation and redemption thereof, was passed under the conviction that so long as the war continued the country would require a large amount of paper money, and that this money should be National in its character, and rest on the faith of the Government for its security and redemption. An act of importance was also passed this session, admitting West Virginia into the Union. A bill was also introduced in the Senate proposing a grant of money to aid in the abolition of slavery in the State of Missouri. It gave rise to lengthy debates. Senators Sumner and Wilson and others in the Senate insisted that the aid should be granted on condition of immediate emancipation; while the Senators of Missouri and others favored gradual emancipation. Others opposed the measure on the ground that Congress had no authority to appropriate the public money for that purpose. The bill finally passed the Senate, but failed in the House. Two members from Louisiana were admitted to seats in the House of Representatives under circumstances which rendered the event of much importance. On the capture of New Orleans, the rebel forces were driven out of that city, and some of the adjoining parishes; and during the ensuing Summer the citizens were invited to resume their allegiance to the Union; over sixty thousand came forward and took the oath of allegiance, and were admitted to their rights as citizens. On the 3d of December General Shepley, acting as Military Governor, ordered an election for members of Congress in the city of New Orleans and adjoining parishes, embracing two districts. In one of these districts B. F. Flanders was elected, and in the other Michael Hahn was elected. A committee of the House to which the application of these members for admission was referred on the 9th of February reported in favor of their claim, and they were admitted to their seats by a vote of ninety-two to forty-four.

Before the adjournment of Congress an Act was passed on the 3d of March authorizing the President, "in all domestic and foreign wars," to issue to private armed vessels of the United States letters of marque and reprisal—said act to terminate at the end of three years from the date of the

Act. Resolutions were also adopted in both Houses protesting against every proposition of foreign interference, by proffers of mediation or otherwise, as "unreasonable and inadmissable," and declaring the "unalterable purpose of the United States to prosecute the war until the rebellion be overcome," passed the Senate thirty-one to five; in the House, one hundred and three to twenty-eight.

This session closed March 4, 1863. It was characterized by the same fixed and marked determination to prosecute the war by the use of the most effective and vigorous measures for the suppression of the rebellion and the perpetuity of the Union, and by the same full and prompt support of the President, which had been so signally manifested by the preceding session of Congress. Perhaps the most important measure passed at this session of Congress, on the recommendation of the President, was its financial policy, establishing National banks, a National currency secured by United States stock, or bonds, for the redemption thereof. The growth and prosperity of the country, unequaled in its former history, attests the wisdom and utility of those measures. Some adherents of the administration party becoming impatient of the delays and the slow progress which seemed to mark the conduct of the war and the suppression of the rebellion, were disposed to find fault and censure the President for his caution, and to insist upon bolder and more sweeping assaults upon the persons and property of the people of the rebel States, and especially upon the institution of slavery. On the other hand, the opponents of the administration denounced everything like coercion or severity as calculated to exasperate the South and prolong the war. The great body of the people, however, manifested a steady and firm reliance on the patriotic purpose and the calm sagacity evinced by the President in his management and conduct of public affairs. About this time two ladies, wives of rebel officers imprisoned on Johnson's island, called at the Executive Mansion and obtained an audience with the President, and applied for the release of their husbands with great opportunity, one of them urging that her husband was a very religious man. As the President granted their requests, he said to the lady who had testified to her husband's religion: "You say that your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him, that I am not much of a judge of religion, but that in my opinion the religion that sets men to rebel against their Government, because, as they think, that Government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not that sort of religion upon which men can get to Heaven." This, at least, was not Mr. Lincoln's religion. His was that which sympathized with all human sorrow, which lifted, so far as it had the power, the burden from the oppressed in every age and condition of life, without regard to age, sex or color. It may be expressed in the case of a

poor woman who sought^d at the hands of the President, with the persistent affection of a mother, for the pardon of her son, condemned to death. She was successful in her petition. When she left the room the President turned and said: "Perhaps I have done wrong, but at all events I have made that poor woman happy." A friend called upon Mr. Lincoln, and found him busily engaged in counting greenbacks. "This, sir," said he, "is something out of my usual line, but a President of the United States has a multiplicity of duties not specified in the Constitution or Acts of Congress; this is one of them. This money belongs to a poor negro, who is a porter in one of the departments, and who is very sick at present with the small-pox. He is now in one of the hospitals, and could not draw his pay because he could not sign his name. I have been to considerable trouble to overcome the difficulty and get it for him, and have succeeded in cutting red tape, as you newspaper men say. I am now dividing the money, and putting by a portion labeled in an envelop with my own hands, according to his wish."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUSPENSION OF WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS—ARRESTS FOR DISLOYALTY.

One of the most formidable difficulties among the many which President Lincoln was compelled to face in the loyal States from the very outbreak of the rebellion, was that political, sympathetic, disloyal feeling, which was in harmony with the principles and actions of the conspirators against the Government. The toleration of President Buchanan's administration, while active preparations were being made for armed resistance to the Government, encouraged the secessionists in their nefarious designs, and evidences are not wanting that the rebels expected active co-operation of men and parties in their rebellious movements. When, in January, 1861, the rebels were preparing to ship large quantities of arms and munitions of war from New York for the contest, on which they had resolved, to the State of Georgia, and the same were seized by the police of New York, Fernando Wood, the Mayor of New York, apologized to Senator Toombs of Georgia, and assured him that, "if he had the power he should summarily punish the authors of this illegal and unjustifiable seizure of private property."

Upon the advent of President Lincoln's administration, prominent presses and politicians throughout the country began, by active hostility, to indicate their sympathy with those who sought to overthrow the Government, and it became manifest that there was sufficient treasonable sentiment in the loyal States to paralyze the authorities in their efforts, aided only by the ordinary machinery of the law to crush the secession movement. In this condition of affairs it was deemed necessary by the President that the "writ of habeas corpus" should be suspended, and that it was his duty to exercise the extraordinary powers with which the Constitution had clothed the Government. It was there provided that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus should not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety might require it." When the necessity arose, of course, the Government charged with the public safety must be judge of the necessity. And that branch of the Government, legislative or executive, when and where the

emergency arose might or should perform the act. The first act of President Lincoln in that direction was his proclamation of May 3, 1861, directed to the commander of the United States troops on the Florida coast, "if he should find it necessary, to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and remove from the vicinity of the United States fortresses all dangerous or suspected persons." It was very soon found necessary to resort to the exercise of the same power in other sections of the country. One particular case was that of John Merryman of Baltimore, known by the Government to be in communication with the rebels, and to be giving them aid and comfort. He was arrested and imprisoned in Fort McHenry. He applied to Chief Justice Roger B. Taney for the issue of the writ of habeas corpus, which was granted, with an order to General Cadwallar to bring the body of Merryman before the Chief Justice. The General said, in reply, that he was "authorized by the President of the United States to suspend the writ of habeas corpus for the public safety," and that, while he fully appreciated the delicacy of the trust, he was also instructed, "that in times of civil strife, errors, if any, should be on the side of safety to the country." He therefore declined to obey the writ, whereupon the Judge issued an attachment against him for contempt of Court, and the Marshal charged with serving the writ made returns that he was not admitted within the fort, and therefore he could not serve the writ. Similar cases arose and were summarily disposed of in a similar manner in other sections of the country.

This course of the administration was bitterly assailed by the party opposed to the Government and in sympathy with the rebellion, and violent and bitter assaults were made on the President by the public press holding disloyal sentiments. On the 5th of July, 1862, Attorney-General Bates transmitted to the President an elaborate opinion, prepared at his request, upon his power to make arrests of persons known to have criminal complicity with the rebels or those against whom there is probable cause for suspicion of such criminal complicity, and also on his right to refuse to obey a writ of habeas corpus in case of such arrests. The Attorney-General discussed the subject at great length, and his arguments were conclusive and favorable to the action of the Government. From that time the administration, with vigor and energy, exerted its power to prevent the rebellion from receiving aid from those in sympathy with its action in the loyal States. A large number of persons in various sections of the country, known to be in complicity with the rebels, were arrested, but were released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States.

Baltimore still continued for some time to be the headquarters of the conspirators and of movements of various kinds in aid of the rebellion, and

on the meeting of the House of Delegates on the 16th of September, nine secession members, with the officers of both Houses, were arrested by General McClellan, then in command of the army, with his full approbation, and the session was not held. The President at that time gave the following statement relative to those arrests: "The public safety renders it necessary that the grounds of these arrests should at the present be withheld, but at the proper time they will be made public. Of one thing the people of Maryland may rest assured, that no arrests have been made, or will be made, not based upon substantial and unmistakable complicity with those in armed rebellion against the United States. In no case has an arrest been made on mere suspicion or through personal or partisan animosities; but in all cases the Government is in possession of tangible and unmistakable evidence which will, when made public, be satisfactory to every loyal citizen."

Arrests continued to be made by the State Department, not without complaint from large numbers of people, but with the general approbation of the whole country, and, beyond all question, to the advantage of the administration and the country. On the 14th of February, 1862, the whole matter of arrests was transferred to the War Department. In the Executive order by the President, the whole circumstances which made those arrests necessary are stated with so much clearness and force that it would be interesting to insert here the whole order, but a short extract must suffice. He says:

"Meantime a favorable change of public opinion has occurred. The line between loyalty and disloyalty is plainly defined; the whole structure of the Government is firm and stable, apprehensions of public danger, and facilities for treasonable practices have diminished with the passions which prompted heedless persons to adopt them.

"The rebellion is believed to have culminated and to be declining. The President, in view of these facts, and anxious to favor a return to the course of the administration, as far as regard for the public welfare will permit, directs that all political or State prisoners now held in military custody be released on their subscribing to a parol engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States. To all persons who shall keep their parol when so released, the President grants an amnesty for all past offenses of treason or disloyalty which they may have committed."

On the 27th of February a commission was appointed by the War Department, consisting of Major-General Dix and Hon. Edward Pierrepont of New York, to examine into the cases of State prisoners, and to determine whether, in view of the public safety and the existing rebellion, they should be discharged, or remain in arrest, or be remitted to the civil tribunals for trial. These commissioners entered at once upon the discharge of their duties, and

a large number were released from custody on taking the oath of allegiance. During the succeeding Winter, while Congress was in session, public sentiment was comparatively quiet on the subject. Congress, during the session, legalized all acts of the President, and gave him full authority to check and punish attempts to defeat the efforts of the administration in the prosecution of the war.

After the adjournment of Congress the party agitation was revived, and public meetings were again held to denounce the Government and to protest against the further prosecution of the war. One of the most active and pestilent of these sympathizers with treason was C. C. Vallandigham of Ohio, who as a member of Congress, stump politician and private citizen, had opposed the Government in its efforts to subdue the rebellion from its very inception. He had the effrontery to offer in the House resolutions of censure for those early acts of the President in calling out troops by which the National capital alone was saved from capture.

His language in Congress had been so bitter and disloyal that the patriotic feelings of every Union citizen were outraged and insulted. Going home from Congress, he entered upon a canvass of his district, denouncing the Government and villifying its motive. The object and tendency of his malicious utterances were to discourage enlisting or volunteering for the military army in the field, to embarrass and weaken the efforts of the President in his great work of subduing the rebellion, and to give aid and succor to the enemies of the Union.

General Burnside, a Union Democrat, then in command of the department of Ohio, issued an order (No. 38) announcing that thereafter all persons found within the Federal lines, who should commit acts for the benefit of the enemy, would be tried as spies or traitors, and if convicted would suffer death. This order Vallandigham publicly denounced, and called upon the people to resist its execution. General Burnside arrested him at once, and ordered him to be tried by a court martial at Cincinnati. On the 5th day of May, the day following his arrest, he applied to the United States Circuit Court for a writ of habeas corpus, and after an elaborate argument from his counsel, Senator Pugh, and the reading of a letter from General Burnside giving his reasons for his arrest, Judge Leavitt, a life-time Democrat, decided against his application, giving his opinion that "The legality of the arrest depends on the necessity for making it, and that was to be determined by the military commander." And he further said, "Men should know and learn, and lay the truth to heart, that there is a course of conduct not involving overt treason, and not, therefore, subject to punishment as such, which, nevertheless, implies moral guilt and a gross offense against the country. Those who

live under the protection and enjoy the blessings of our benignant Government must learn that they cannot stab its vitals with impunity. If they cherish hatred and hostility to it and desire its subversion, let them withdraw from its jurisdiction and seek the fellowship and protection of those with whom they are in sympathy. If they remain with us, while they are not of us, they must be subject to such a course of dealing as the great law of self-preservation prescribes and will enforce. And let them not complain if the stringent law of military necessity should find them to be the legitimate subjects of its action. I have no fear that the recognition of this doctrine will lead to an arbitrary invasion of the personal security or personal liberty of the citizen. It is rare, indeed, that a charge of disloyalty will be made on insufficient grounds. But if there should be an occasional mistake, such an occurrence is not to be put in competition with the preservation of the Nation; and I confess I am but little moved by the eloquent appeals of those who, while they indignantly denounce violations of personal liberty, look with no horror upon a despotism as unmitigated as the world has ever witnessed."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

VALLANDIGHAM SENT TO HIS FRIENDS—ALBANY MEETING—PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

Immediately after the decision of Judge Leavitt, refusing Vallandigham his application, he was tried and convicted, and was sentenced to confinement in some fortress of the United States, to be designated by General Burnside, who designated Fort Warren as his place of confinement. The President modified the sentence and directed that the convict should be sent within the rebel lines, among the people whom he held in such cordial sympathy, and that he should not return until after the termination of the war. The man sent to his own did not seem to meet with a very cordial reception. The Southern people seemed to manifest that sentiment so notably marked in the case of a notorious personage in the early history of our country, in which it was said of his friends when they received him: "They loved the treason, but despised the traitor." So Vallandigham passed on through the rebellious States, and made his way to Canada. He subsequently returned to Ohio without asking permission of the President.

Our limits will not permit an extended exposition of the numerous and most noted cases of arrest by the civil and military authorities for treason and disloyalty. The public were but little acquainted and informed, at the time, of the magnitude and effect of the disloyal influences that were at work in the loyal States. This seditious and secession sentiment paralyzed and weakened the efforts and exertions of the Government for the suppression of the rebellion, and the baneful influences became so potent that stern necessity required the President to interpose his constitutional authority and stay the nefarious influences that were at work for the subversion of the national authority. In the discharge of this duty, forbearance and clemency were the distinguished characteristics of his action, and at this day, when the extent and effects of this disloyal and secession sentiment and action of the guilty parties on the public mind, and on the policy of the Government, appear more clear, we can see that mercy and forbearance, rather than justice and merited punishment, were the rule and not the exception, and can hardly

realize how the President under cases so unnatural and malignant, and which called for severe and exemplary punishment, could be so lenient and merciful. The case of Vallandigham called for severe and condign punishment, and yet the President treated his case with the utmost lenity. His disloyalty was the most effective and offensive because of his eminence as a member of Congress, notorious because of his pestilential and malicious utterances against the Government and its policy for sustaining the unity of the Nation, but in this case, as in many others, the President had views of his own, and it is most likely that of his own volition he would have left from the first the arch conspirator alone, believing that his fulminations, as events afterwards proved, rather strengthened the Union cause than otherwise. The arrest, the remarks of Judge Leavitt and the excitement growing out of the case had their salutary effects. In the loyal States a spirit of inquiry was awakened which resulted in drawing the line of distinction between the loyal and disloyal, and showing forth the enormity and audacity of those that were engaged in giving aid and encouragement to the rebellion. Prominent secessionists in the loyal States became alarmed. If military officers could arrest offenders and be sustained by the United States courts, and the criminals sent within the rebel lines, the inquiry naturally arose, who is safe, or who will be the next victim, and to meet the difficulties that surrounded them and shift the responsibilities from themselves, they began to call public meetings and to pass resolutions denouncing the Government, and requesting the President to reconsider his action in Vallandigham's case. A meeting of this kind, where the notables opposed to the administration and the prosecution of the war for the preservation of the Union assembled in large numbers, met at Albany, May 16th. Governor Seymour sent a letter fully in spirit and harmony with the sentiments of the meeting. It would be difficult to point out or to distinguish any difference in the principle or spirit of the treasonable language used by the arch agitator of Ohio or the peace Governor of New York.

Governor Seymour said in his letter to the Albany meeting: "The sanction of the act by which Vallandigham was sent South by the President and the people was not only despotism, but revolution." Vallandigham had said that the administration was aiming not to restore the Union, but to crush out liberty. Governor Seymour said: "The action of the administration will determine in the minds of more than half of the people of the loyal States whether this war is waged to put down rebellion in the South or destroy free institutions at the North."

The Albany meeting was in perfect harmony and concord with Governor Seymour's letter, and its spirit was embodied in the resolutions which were adopted pledging the Democratic party of the State to the preservation of the Union, but condemning in strong terms the whole system of military arrests,

and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. The leaders of this meeting had placed themselves in an attitude by their resolutions which the President coveted. They gave him the desired opportunity to give to the people of the Union an exhaustive and full statement of his policy on the subjects which were so strongly condemned by the meeting. It was a vindication worthy of the President of a people striving to save the Union, and sustain their nationality, and it was so regarded by the American people. It was so full, so conclusive, that it was unanswerable, that no earnest or candid attempt was made to answer it.

Our limits preclude even a review of the argument, but some extracts and illustrations may be given of its force and argument. In alleging the necessity and propriety of arresting those known to be traitors, but who were not guilty of an overt act of treason, the President said: "Many of the prominent leaders of the rebellion, Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnson, J. C. Breckenridge and many others, now occupying prominent official positions under the rebel Government, were well known to be traitors, and were all within the power of the Government since the war began. Without doubt, if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would have been much weaker; but no one of them had committed any crime defined by law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on habeas corpus were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time will come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many. Mr. Vallandigham was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration or the personal interests of the commanding officer; but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the Nation depends. Must I shoot a simple-minded boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert? I think that in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional but, withal, a great mercy."

This Albany meeting, in their resolutions and proceedings, had styled themselves Democrats. The President said: "I would have preferred to have met you on the higher platform of American citizens. Nor can I, with full respect for your known intelligence and the fairly presumed deliberations with which you prepared your resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any other way than that they preferred to designate themselves Democrats rather than American citizens. In this time of National peril, I would have preferred to have met you on a level—one step higher than any party platform—because I am sure that from such a more elevated position we could do better battle for the country we all love, than we can possibly from these lower ones, where, from the force of habit—the

prejudices of the past and selfish hopes of the future—we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and driving blows at each other. But since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful, for the country's sake, that not all Democrats have done so. He who arrested Mr. Vallandigham is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me; and the Judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on habeas corpus, is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battlefield, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham. While I have not heard of a single one condemning it, I do not assert that there are none such. And still further, speaking of Jackson reminds me of another incident in point. At New Orleans, General Jackson declared martial law, which he still maintained after it was known that peace had been concluded, but before official knowledge had arrived. Now that it could be said that the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, became more furious. A Mr. Louiallia published a denunciatory article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge, Hall, to issue a writ of habeas corpus to relieve Mr. Louiallia. General Jackson arrested both lawyer and Judge. A Mr. Hollinder ventured to say of some part of the matter that it was a "dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of habeas corpus, General Jackson took it from him and sent him away with a copy. Holding the Judge in custody a few days, the General sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty with an order to remain until the ratification of peace should be regularly announced. A day or two elapsed; the ratification of a treaty of peace was announced, and the Judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more, and the Judge called General Jackson into Court and fined him one thousand dollars for having arrested him and the others named. The General paid the fine, and there the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when a Democratic Congress refunded the fine, principal and interest. And I may here remark that Senator Douglas, then a member of the House, was a prominent advocate of this Democratic measure. Then we had the same Constitution as now; then we had an invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and third, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence and the habeas corpus suffered no detriment whatever by the conduct of General Jackson or its subsequent approval by the American Congress."

A State Convention of the Democratic party was held at the State capital, Ohio, June 11th, for the purpose of nominating State officers. Mr. Vallandig-

ham, who had been sent away by the President, was nominated for Governor, and Senator Pugh, who argued his case before Judge Leavitt, as their candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. This Convention adopted resolutions protesting against the President's emancipation proclamation; condemning martial law in the loyal States; denouncing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; protesting strongly against the banishment of Vallandigham, and calling on the President to restore him to his rights; and a committee was appointed to wait on the President with the resolutions of the Convention, and to urge the immediate recall and restoration of Vallandigham, their candidate for Governor. To their request and resolutions, the President gave them a lengthy, plain, written reply, from which only a short extract can be given. The President said: "We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters began several months ago. That more recently, the like has appeared in resistance to the enrollment, preparatory to a draft, and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility, more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hinderance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the cause in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged, in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other man. These things have been notorious—known to all—and, of course, known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his special friends and adherents. With all this before their eyes, the Convention you represent has nominated him for Governor of Ohio. At the same time your nominee for Governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and the world, to declare against the use of the army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft and the like, because it teaches those inclined to desert and to escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope you will become strong enough to do so. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Vallandigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only, and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention."

The recall from banishment desired was not made, and in the meantime the canvass for State officers went on, and at the election the people of Ohio decided against Mr. Vallandigham by a majority of over one hundred thousand votes. When he afterward clandestinely returned without leave, he was permitted to say and do as he pleased, as he had lost all power of doing harm, except where he might choose to bestow his friendship, which was exemplified afterward in a notable degree at the Chicago Convention which nominated General McClellan.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MISSOURI IMBROGLIO—CHARACTERISTIC LETTERS—ELECTION RESULTS.

One of the most unpleasant and vexatious difficulties among the many which the President had to meet, was that division of sentiment and policy which divided the friends of the Union in Missouri, dating back as far as the removal of General Fremont. An order issued by General Halleck, excluding fugitive slaves from his lines, though issued only for military purposes, aided the discord. The sharp, bitter, personal discussions to which this incident gave rise, were followed by action and discussions relative to emancipation, the parties dividing on the issue of gradual or immediate emancipation; and this was followed by a disagreement between General Curtis, who was in command of the department, and Governor Gamble, who controlled the State troops. General Curtis was removed, and General Schofield was appointed in his place. This offended Governor Gamble's enemies, and they remonstrated with the President.

Mr. Lincoln, in a letter written at this time, said: "It is very painful to me that you in Missouri cannot or will not settle your factional quarrel among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance for a month by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason." The friends of General Fremont were anxious that he should be recalled and appointed Military Governor, setting aside Governor Gamble. Partisans, committees and deputations visited Washington to harass and torment the President, still more, each returned, carrying back a report, and made the most of it to keep up the quarrel. In the Summer of 1863 the public feeling became intense. Gradual emancipationists were denounced as traitors by the radical emancipation party, which claimed to represent the only loyal element of the State, and, of course, gradual emancipationists retorted the charge, and asserted their claims to loyalty. Soon after General Schofield's appointment, the President addressed him a letter referring to the troubles in Missouri, in which he said: "Now that you are in the position, I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or

Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment, and to do right for the public interest. Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invaders and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult role, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other."

On the 1st of July a State Convention in session passed an amendment to the Constitution, declaring that slavery should cease to exist in Missouri from the 4th of July, 1870. This, however, was by no means accepted as a final disposition of the matter. The demand was made for immediate emancipation, and Governor Gamble, and the members of the provisional Government who favored the policy adopted by the State Convention, were denounced as advocates of slavery and allies of the rebellion. A mass meeting was held at Jefferson City on the 2d of September, at which resolutions were adopted denouncing the military policy pursued by the State. A committee of one from each county was appointed to visit Washington and lay their grievances before the President. The last of September the committee arrived at Washington and had an interview with the President, in which they represented Governor Gamble and General Schofield as being in virtual alliance with the rebels, and demanded the removal of the latter as an act of justice to the loyal anti-slavery men of the State. This committee demanded, first, the removal of General Schofield, and in his place the appointment of General Butler; second, that the system of enrolled militia in Missouri may be broken up, and that National forces be substituted for it, and, third, that at all elections persons may be allowed to vote who are by law entitled to do so.

On the 5th of October the President made to the representations and requests of the committee a lengthy and elaborate reply. To the first request, after giving his reasons, he said: "I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command. And as at present advised, I cannot attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia of Missouri. I may add that the force being under the National military control, it is also within the proclamation in regard to the habeas corpus. I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified in entering upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what it seemed to be proper to do and say. The public knows it full well. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things

and disagree in others. I could wish that they could agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They chose to do otherwise, and I do not question their right. I, too, shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold, however, commanders in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me, and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but at least I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear."

Accompanying this letter to the committee, was also a letter of instructions to General Schofield, in which he directed him so to use his authority as "to compel the excited people to let one another alone." But all had no effect in quieting the political agitation or to ameliorate the personal feelings engendered by it. Subsequently General Rosecrans was placed in command, and the quarrel died out, or ceased to attract public attention. An anecdote of the President here may be in point, being applicable to the state of affairs in Missouri:

The President was once speaking about an attack made on him by the committee on the conduct of the war, for a blunder, or something worse, in the Southwest—the matter involved being one which had fallen directly under the observance of the officer to whom he was talking, he possessing official evidence entirely different from the conclusions of the committee. The officer said to the President:

"Might it not be well for me to set this matter right in a letter to some paper, stating the facts as they actually transpired?"

"Oh, no;" replied the President; "at least not now. If I were to try to read, much less to answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed to any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can, and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me will not amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

The President had been invited by the Republican State Committee of Illinois to attend the State Convention to be held in Springfield, September 3d. Being unable to attend, he wrote, in reply, a letter to the Convention, defining his policy, from which we give an extract, which is characteristic:

"The signs look better. The father of waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest, nor yet wholly to them. For three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone and Jersey hewing their way, right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand; on the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great National one, and let

none be slighted who bore an honorable part. And those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, but even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietum, Murfresboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note.

"Nor must Uncle Sam's webfeet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, and broad bay and rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all for the great Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

"Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will soon come, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth keeping in all future ages. It will then have been proven that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the costs. And there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clinched teeth, and steady eye and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation. I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that, with malignant heart and deceitful speech, they have striven to hinder it. Still, let us not be over sanguine of a speedy and final triumph; let us be quite sober; let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result."

In this letter the President was talking to his Western friends, and yet, not alone to them, but to the loyal citizens of the Union, and to the lovers of freedom and humanity for all coming ages, with no utterances of reproach or bitterness to those who were striving to destroy the Union, save a reminder that the ballot is preferable to the bullet, and in a vein of pleasure for results accomplished, and thanks to all who had achieved the success, and with an equanimity of mind for the future, rarely, if ever excelled, he looks to the great disposer of events for the final results. While there was much favorable for the Union, there was, to a considerable extent, partisan opposition to specific measures of the administration, and in some places this took form of open hostility to the further prosecution of the war. But the spirit and open determination of the people were for rebel submission, and the Union party entered upon the political contests in the several States in the Autumn of 1863, with confidence of success, and the results of the election fully justified the confidence of the people in the policy of the administration. All of the States in which elections were held, with the exception of New Jersey, voted to sustain the administration, and in all the largest States the majorities were so large as to show that the crisis which threatened to divide the Union, had passed. In Ohio, Vallandigham was defeated by a majority of nearly

one hundred thousand votes against him. Governor Seymour, in New York, was defeated by thirty thousand for the administration, and Pennsylvania, with General McClellan in the canvass, gave Curtin, the war candidate for Governor, thirty thousand majority. The results of these elections vindicated the action of the Government in the matter of military arrests, and sustained in every State the policy of the President in regard to slavery and in issuing the proclamation of emancipation as a military measure. The result was considered as a decided verdict of the people in support of the administration. It was so regarded by all parties throughout the country.

It is well to note the progress, not only of events, but that of principles and ideas. Three years before, Missouri had refused to raise and send troops to defend the National capital. Maryland, three years before, made it necessary for the President to pass through Baltimore in the night to avoid assassination. Three years before, troops hastening to the protection of Washington, had left some of their comrades dead in the streets, and the whole city was seething with treason; and those States, neither of which would, three years ago, tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery in the Territories, were now disputing as to the best mode of removing it within and from their own limits.

At this time a grand fair, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission, was held in Baltimore, and Mr. Lincoln was present. He said: "Calling to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. Looking upon the many people I see assembled here to serve, as best they may, the soldiers of the Union, it occurs to me that three years ago those soldiers could not pass through Baltimore. I would say blessings on those men who have wrought these changes, and the women who have assisted them. The generous outpouring of means for sustaining these charities are voluntary contributions, giving proof that the National resources are not exhausted, and that the National patriotism will sustain us through all."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HIS DAILY EXPERIENCE AND INNER LIFE.

In the preceding chapter we have recorded some of the difficulties and embarrassments that attended the President's daily public duties and experience; we may now enter the White House and record some of the incidents and trials of his daily and inner life.

He had a method in all his official relations, and regular hours for the transaction of public business. His office hours were from 9 A. M., with an hour's intermission at 1 P. M., and continued frequently until 10 or 11 P. M. The mornings of Tuesday in each week were allotted to regular Cabinet meetings—the other days of the week were devoted to the reception of visitors on business. First in the morning, Senators; next, Representatives of the House; third, Governors of the several States; and following, any or all that desired to see the President. The foregoing were admitted in their regular order on the presentation of their cards. The evenings were usually devoted by the President to the reception of all callers on business in his office, the doors being open to all, without the presentation of cards for admission.

The President had carried with him into his public life those principles of humane excellence, kindness, gentleness, truthfulness and charity which have been so beautifully exemplified in his public addresses and public papers. But it was in the more intimate and personal relations and contact with the people that those traits of character which have made his name immortal, have shone with their greatest luster and loveliness. Those principles of the President became so apparent in the early days of his administration that he soon became recognized as the father of his people. In his youth he had been regarded as a conciliator of difficulties and troubles between his fellows, and now every man seemed to think that the President could and would settle his little trouble, or grant his request. To all he was so accessible that all came to him with their wants and difficulties. One illustration here: An old lady called on the President, and requested that he would have a certain sum of money reserved from the salary of a clerk in one of the

departments so that she might receive her bill for board. The President heard the old lady, and with a smile of humor, told her that her request was rather out of the line of his official duties, but that he thought it could be arranged so that she could get her money. The President, meeting soon the Secretary of the department in which the clerk was employed, said to him, laughing: "It seems that I am to be regarded as Police Judge. An old lady called on me to-day and requested me to collect a board bill from one of the clerks in your department." Of course the incident soon became public, and without doubt the old lady and other landladies rejoiced thereat.

Mr. Lincoln entered the White House in robust health and with a vigor and vitality unusual to a man of his age. The three years of the war, with its responsibilities, anxieties and labors, had wrought a powerful depressing effect on his physical constitution, and he had become at this period, in a measure, a feeble man, wearied and worn by the great responsibilities which rested upon him as a leader and conductor in the greatest civil war of any age. There was a period in the President's life when love of country, demands of patriotism, and the obligations of his official oath required a stern compliance with official duty.

It was a sad and solemn hour, not from any hesitancy as to the course he should pursue, nor from the weight of responsibility to be incurred, but it was grave and solemn, because the President loved peace. Benevolence and fraternity were his peculiar characteristics. The blood of a pious and peaceful ancestry coursed through his veins. The culture of his mind in his early years by a Christian mother had created within his heart tender emotions of love and mercy. His professional experience and life had trained him to habits of loyalty and moderation, which invoked no remedies but the legal and peaceful ones of the laws and the constitution, and his principles were to convince and combat error with argument and reason alone. But with those humane and Christian characteristics were those more pre-eminent, love of country and suffering humanity. When all peaceful measures and overtures of peace for the perpetuity of the Union had been exhausted, when the desire of peace expressed and declared in his inaugural was unavailing, and its fraternal utterances were drowned in the boisterous clamors of war, when the Government forts, custom-houses and other property had been seized by the Southern Confederacy, when rebel armies were being organized for the avowed purpose of seizing the National capital, when the Southern oligarchy had arrayed itself against free soil and free labor, when the patricidal hands of Southern traitors were raised against the Union, and our star spangled banner went down in shame and dishonor from the battlements of Fort Sumpter, dishonored by rebel hands, then the hopes of conciliation and the dreams of peace had expired.

Now the hour of hesitancy and doubt had passed. Now the course of duty and action was plain, and when on Monday morning, April 15, 1861, the President issued his first proclamation for the country's defenders, the call was answered with an united aye and amen. The President suffered during the struggle which preceded his decision that war must be prosecuted to save the Union, and he suffered during its continuance by the constant anxiety and efforts to make it successful and keep it in motion. His motives and extreme caution in the numerous difficulties that frequently arose in the constant civil and military emergencies were often misunderstood, his character was often assailed and his plans nullified by those whose best interest he was continually striving for, struggling with an anxious spirit and overtaxed brain for the good of the commonwealth, in common with the loyal citizens he deeply suffered when defeat lowered our National flag, and he felt it with a more vivid and painful force because he was the leader. In those days of despondency and gloom, when the hearts of the bravest failed, he never yielded to despondency or anger. His evenness of temper is attested by Napoleon III, who said: "Mr. Lincoln's highest claim on my admiration is a Roman equanimity which has been tried by both extremes of fortune and not disturbed by either." When once asked if he ever despaired of the Republic, he answered: "Only once, and that was when the peninsular campaign terminated at Harrison's landing."

With the soldiers who were fighting the battles of the Union he had the deepest sympathy. Whenever he was congratulated upon a success in the field, he never failed to allude to the noble men who won it. The trials of the soldiers, their sacrifices of comfort and health, of limb and life touched him with a sympathy and commiseration that really wore away his physical frame and constitution. His sympathy was marked in his treatment of their offences against military law. A personal friend of the President called upon him one day in the early part of the war. He had just signed a pardon for a young man who had been sentenced to be shot for sleeping on his post as a sentinel. The President remarked, as he read the pardon to the friend: "I could not think of going to eternity with the blood of that young man on my skirts." And then he added; "It is not to be wondered at, that a boy raised upon a farm, probably in the habit of going to bed at dark, should, when required to watch, fall asleep, and I cannot consent to shoot him for such an act." And history records the fact that the dead body of this youth was found among the slain on the battlefield of Fredericksburg wearing next to his heart a photograph of his preserver, beneath, on which, the grateful fellow had written, "God bless President Lincoln." One evening, Schuyler Colfax left all other business to call on the President to ask him to respite

the son of a constituent who was sentenced to be shot for desertion. He heard the story with his usual patience (although he was worried and worn out with incessant toil and calls, and anxious for rest), and then he replied: "Some of the Generals complain that I impair discipline and subordination in the army by my pardons and respites, but it makes me feel rested after a hard day's work if I can find some good excuse for saving a man's life, and I can go to bed happy, as I think how joyous the signing my name will make him and his family and his friends." And then with a smile beaming over the careworn face he signed the name that saved that young man's life. An officer in command of a division of the Army of the Potomac, said: "The first week of my command there were twenty-four deserters sentenced by court martial to be shot, and the warrants for their execution were sent to the President to be signed. He refused. I went to Washington and had an interview with the President. I said, Mr. President, unless these men are made an example of the army is in danger; mercy to the few is cruelty to the many. He replied, 'General, there are already too many weeping widows in the United States. For God's sake, don't ask me to add to the number, for I won't do it. Put them in the ranks and try them again.'"

A touching incident is related by one of the door-keepers. A poor woman from Philadelphia had called at the Executive Mansion for three days to see the President, with her baby in her arms. Her husband had deserted. He was arrested, tried and condemned to be shot. The sentence was to be executed on Saturday. On Monday previous she left home to see the President. Said Daniel, the door-keeper, "She had been waiting in the ante-room three days; there was such a crowd there had been no chance for her to get in. Late in the afternoon of the third day the President was going through the passage to his private rooms to get some rest. On his way through he heard the baby cry. He instantly went back to his office and rang the bell. Daniel, said he, is there a woman with a baby in the ante-room? I said there was. He said, send her to me at once. She went in and told her story, and the President pardoned her husband. As the woman came out from his presence weeping and her lips moving in prayer and thankfulness, said Daniel, I went up to her, and pulling her shawl, I said, madam, it was the baby that done it." After that day the door-keeper had standing orders from the President, that no matter how great the throng, if Senators or Representatives had to wait or be turned away without an audience, he must see before the day is closed every one that came to him with a petition for the saving of life.

This tender sensibility of the President came gradually under the control of his judgment, and the counsels of others sometimes constrained him to a

severity which he hated, so at length the order for the merited restraint or punishment of public offenders, was usually, though always reluctantly, ratified by him. But his sympathy with men in whatever condition, of whatever opinion, in whatever wrongs involved, was so natural, constant and controlling that he was always inclined, as well as predetermined, to the widest and most generous theory possible. A volume might be written of similar incidents to these, the sufferings and miseries that the war had brought upon the Nation and people bore continually with sorrow and anguish on his sympathetic heart. We have no example of any man more considerate of human infirmity and weakness. He could always find so many excuses and apologies for the faults and sins of others, and he would always treat them with mercy and tenderness, unless he had evidence that the transgressions were purposely and maliciously committed.

These virtues—mercy, sympathy and charity—which so ennobled and make God like our common humanity, were the governing principles of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and has given to the world an example which stands out in history as the grandest exhibition of devotion to the Constitution and laws, and to freedom and humanity. In a case calling for exemplary justice, the President could be severe. Soon after his first inauguration a case occurred which illustrates this characteristic. Hon. J. B. Alley of Lynn, Massachusetts, was the bearer to the President of a petition for the pardon of a person confined in the Newburyport jail for being engaged in the slave trade. He had been sentenced to five years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of one thousand dollars. The petition was accompanied by a letter, in which the prisoner acknowledged his guilt and justice of his sentence; he had served his term of imprisonment, but was still held for the payment of his fine. Mr. Alley read the letter to the President, who was much moved by its appeals, and when he himself had read the petition, he looked up and said: "My friend, that is a very touching appeal to my feelings. You know my weakness is to be, if possible, too easily moved by appeals for mercy, and if this man were guilty of the foulest murder that the arm of man could perpetrate, I might forgive him on such an appeal, but the man who could go to Africa, and rob her of her children and sell them into interminable bondage, with no other motive than that is furnished by dollars and cents, is so much worse than the most depraved murderer, that he can never receive pardon at my hands, No; he may rot in jail before he shall have liberty by any act of mine." To the soldier who had deserted, or the boy found sleeping on his post, the President could extend mercy and pardon, but to the man guilty of the crime of kidnaping and man-stealing and man-

selling, with all the cruelties attending that nefarious business, from him, the executive officer of the people, no pardon could be obtained.

Mrs. M., a Californian of '49, and an old and early friend of Mr. Lincoln, visited Washington in the Winter of '63 and '64, and was a frequent visitor at the White House. She thus relates her last interview with the President: "The morning before I left Washington for California I called on the President. After some conversation relative to my return, I said, 'Mr. Lincoln, I have with me three beautiful copies of your emancipation proclamation. They are lithographed, the original was executed with a pen by a young artist of San Francisco. I would esteem it as a great and highly appreciated favor to have your autograph to each one of them.' He replied: 'You shall have my name to them, and with pleasure.' After he had signed them I then said: 'Mr. Lincoln, allow me to kiss the hand that gave freedom, happiness and manhood to so many millions of human hearts.' As he reached out, with a smile, his lean, bony hand, he said: 'I suppose this act of mine, giving freedom to the colored race in the Confederate States, will be considered by the world as the prominent act and feature of my administration, but I do not so regard it. With me the consideration that has been paramount to all others, is the restoration of the Union, and the unity and security of the Republic, and when I have, through the support of the loyal citizens, accomplished this, the issue of which, I think, is now no longer in doubt, all others will be of comparative secondary importance.'"

Mrs. M. continued: "Those beautiful souvenirs which I received from the President, one was presented to Senator C. Cole, one to D. W. Chusman, ex-United States Assistant Treasurer, San Francisco, and the third was retained by the recipient, and they are prized as mementos consecrated to friendship and memory, valued above all price."

Ex-Governor Rice relates the following pleasing incident: "While officially resident in Washington, during the late war, I once had occasion to call upon President Lincoln with the late Senator Henry Wilson, upon an errand of a public nature, in which we were mutually interested. In the recognized order of precedent a member of the House of Representatives, as I then was, could not, in times of pressure for audience with the President, gain admittance so long as there were Cabinet Ministers, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Senators, or Justices of the Supreme Court, desiring audience with him, and all civilians must wait their opportunity until after members of Congress and officers of the army and navy and of the civil service, and others had their turns respectively. Having a joint errand with Senator Wilson, I could avail myself of earlier admission; but we were obliged to wait some time in the ante-room before we could be received, and

when at length the door was opened to us, a small lad, about ten or twelve years old, who had been waiting for admission several days without success, slipped in between, and approached the President in advance. The latter gave the Senator and myself a cordial but brief salutation, and turning immediately to the lad, said: 'Who is the little boy?' During their conference the Senator and myself were apparently forgotten. The boy soon told his story, which was, in substance, that he had come to Washington seeking employment as a page in the House of Representatives, and he wished the President to give him such an appointment. To this the President replied that such appointments were not at his disposal, and that application must be made to the door-keeper of the House at the capitol. 'But, sir,' said the lad, still undaunted, 'I am a good boy, and have a letter from my mother and one of the Supervisors of our town, and one from my Sunday-school teacher, and they all told me that I could earn enough one session of Congress to keep my mother and the rest of us comfortable all the remainder of the year.' The President took the lad's papers and ran his eye over them with that penetrating and absorbent look so familiar to all who knew him, and then took his pen and wrote on the back of one of them: 'If Captain Goodnow can give a place to this good little boy I shall be gratified,' and signed it, 'A. Lincoln.' The boy's face became radiant with hope and he walked out of the room with a step as light as though all the angels were whispering their congratulations. Only after the lad had gone did the President seem to realize that a Senator and another had been waiting some time to see him."

Think for a moment of a President of a great Nation and that Nation engaged in one of the most terrible wars waged against men, himself worn down with anxiety and labor, subjected to the alterations of success and defeat, racked by the complaints of the envious, the disloyal and the unreasonable, pressed to the decision of grave questions of public policy, and incumbered by the numberless incidents of civil and military responsibility, yet able so far to forget them all as to give himself up for the time being to the errand of a little boy who had braved an interview uninvited, and of whom he knew nothing. But he had a story to tell of his widowed mother and of his ambition to serve her. The word mother was a talisman that opened the President's heart on all occasions.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE—GENERAL GRANT MADE
• LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

The Thirty-eighth Congress met December 7, 1863, and the House of Representatives was promptly organized by the election of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Speaker, he receiving 101 votes out of 181. In the Senate, the Senators from West Virginia were admitted to their seats by a vote of 36 to 5. California was represented in the Senate by Hons. John Conness and James A. McDougall, and in the House by Hons. Cornelius Cole, Wm. Higby and Thomas Shannon. The President sent in his annual message on the 9th. It informed Congress and the country that our foreign relations were in the main highly satisfactory. An important point had been gained in the course of our correspondence with Great Britain—the issuing of an order by that Government forbidding the departure of formidable rams that were building in English ports for the rebel service.

The proceedings of the French in Mexico gave rise to questions which were likely to be of permanent importance to the welfare of both countries. The French Minister expressed a desire that the United States would express its acquiescence in the establishment of the Archduke Maximilian on the throne of Mexico, and its willingness to enter into peaceful relations with that Government when established. In reply to this request, Mr. Seward, on the 23d of October, stated, “that our Government would maintain a position of complete neutrality in the war between France and Mexico, and that it had not the least intention or desire to interfere with the action of the people of Mexico in their choice of whatever institutions of Government they may, in the exercise of an absolute freedom, establish.” While the position of the administration at that time in regard to the war in Mexico was neutrality, neither the President nor the people indicated any purpose to acquiesce in the imposition of a foreign Prince upon the Mexican people by foreign armies; and on the 4th of April, 1864, the House of Representatives adopted the following resolution: “*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States are unwilling

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oy silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the Republic of Mexico. Therefore they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the sentiment of the people of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical Government, erected on the ruins of any republican Government in America, under the auspices of any European power."

Reference was made in the message favorable to the establishment of an international telegraph across the Atlantic; to the movement abroad for immigration to the United States; to the successful operations of the Treasury Department during the year. It also contained a general and full statement of the operations of the army and navy. It was further stated that the policy and results of the emancipation proclamation were held as being satisfactory, as the rebel borders had been pressed back, and the rebel territory had been divided by the opening of the Mississippi. Tennessee and Arkansas had been cleared of insurgent control, and Maryland and Missouri were disputing as to the best means to remove slavery from their limits. The public feeling abroad favorable to the Union had wonderfully improved under the influence of this policy, and the Government at home had been encouraged and supported by the recent elections. The message treated with considerable detail the question of reconstruction, which was to assume importance with the progress of events. The message also called attention to the President's proclamation of amnesty to all those engaged in the rebellion who should take an oath to support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, the union of the States under it, and the proclamation of the President concerning slaves. In the conclusion of his message the President said: "In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look for a time to give confidence to the people in the contested regions, that the insurgent power will not again overrule them. Until that confidence shall be established little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chief care must still be directed to the army and navy, which have thus far borne their hardier part so nobly and so well. And it may be esteemed fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom—disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged and perpetuated."

The action of Congress, during the first of the session, was not of special importance. The preceding Congress had so fully provided for all emergencies, both present and prospective, of the war, that but little in this direction was required. Public attention was fully absorbed by the military

operations, and the general character of the debates in Congress indicated the conviction on the part of the people of the whole country without regard to party distinctions, that the destruction of slavery was inseparable from a victorious prosecution of the war.

All parties now acquiesced in the reality that the days of slavery were numbered, that the rebellion, organized for the purpose of extending and strengthening it, had placed it at the mercy of the National forces and compelled the executive power of the Government to assail its existence as the only means of subduing the rebellion and preserving and restoring the Union. The certainty that the prosecution of the war would result in the emancipation of the slaves led to the introduction of measures in Congress preparatory for this emergency. February 6th a bill was reported in the House for the establishment of a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs. The bill passed the House, and after being discussed in the Senate, was passed over until the next session.

The fugitive slave law—one of those compromise measures which was intended to silence the anti-slavery agitator, and be a final settlement of that question forever—was repealed with wonderful ease and unanimity. The most notable feature of this session of Congress was the resolution introduced to submit to the action of the several States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting the existence of slavery within the States and Territories of the Union forever. The introduction of this measure and the radical change proposed, and the comparatively small opposition it received showed the progress of events, and the experience of the last three years had left but little inclination in any quarter to prolong the existence of slavery, and the political necessities which formerly gave it protection and strength had ceased to be felt. Two Southern Senators—Saulsbury of Delaware, and Powell of Kentucky—urged that it was a palpable violation of States rights for the people thus to interfere with anything which State laws declared to be property; but they were answered by Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, who urged that when the constitution was formed this prohibition of slavery might unquestionably have been embodied in it, and that it was competent for the people to do now whatever they might have done then. A striking feature of the debate on the resolution in the Senate was a strong speech in its favor by Senator Henderson of Missouri, whose arguments in favor of the measure surprised the country, and even its friends, and was a forcible proof of the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment in the border States. The resolution passed the Senate April 8, 1864, by the strong vote of thirty-eight to six. It then went to the House, and was taken up May 31st. It was debated at length with but little comparative excitement. The vote was taken on its passage June 15th, and resulted in its rejection by a vote of

ninety-four to sixty-five—two-thirds being necessary. Mr. Ashly of Ohio changed his vote to the negative for the purpose of moving a reconsideration, and the motion to reconsider having been made, the resolution went over in this position to the next session.

A bill was introduced and passed March 2d restoring the grade of Lieutenant-General, and General Grant was appointed by the President, with the assent of the Senate, to that office and vested with the command of the armies of the United States. On the 9th of March the President, at the White House, handed to General Grant his commission, and thus addressed him: "General Grant; the expression of the Nation's approbation of what you have already done and its reliance on you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves on you an additional responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I need scarcely to add that, with what I here speak for the country, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

General Grant responded as follows: "Mr. President, I accept this commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know if they are met it will be due to those armies, and above all, to the favor of that Providence that leads both nations and men."

The history of our country give, us no examples of men more true and devoted in their efforts for the perpetuity and unity of the Republic than those of President Lincoln and General Grant, and in their hands and by their labors, with no desire except the public weal, the hopes of humanity and the cause of freedom and nationality were destined to have a successful issue and illustrious triumph. Simplicity, charity and love of country and its constitution had led the President's kind and generous heart to deeds of greatness and excellence, and made him the object of esteem, devotion and tender regard of a generous, loyal people.

Not the courage of the hour, nor the brilliant onset of a Murat, gave General Grant the prestige of a great soldier, but his indomitable will, and a purpose, firm, devoted and constant as was his love of country, gave him the honor of being the greatest military chieftain of the age. General Grant announced his assumption of command under this appointment by a general order issued at Nashville, March 17th. Here, in connection with General Sherman, were taken the incipient steps, which were consummated on his return to Washington, of that remarkable campaign, which, for the tenacity

of its leaders in its execution, and in its complete and successful accomplishment, has no parallel in ancient or modern history. Grand in conception and brilliant in execution, the results that have followed its success have been beyond the hopes and anticipations of the people, in that the supremacy of the constitution and Union has been restored. The principles of national unity and sovereignty have been fully established, the dark and unsightly incubus on our National prosperity has been obliterated and removed, and the nefarious and disorganizing doctrines of secession and nullification have been made so odious that they are only remembered with aversion, and our Republic is now standing forth in the light of universal liberty and brotherhood, the wonder, admiration and desire of the oppressed and down-trodden in every clime and nation in the civilized world.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RECONSTRUCTION MEASURES.

The first movement of the administration on the important subject of reconstructing the Government of the rebellious States, was embodied in a proclamation of the President which accompanied his annual message to the Thirty-eighth Congress. This matter had been, to a considerable extent, canvassed by the public press, and by prominent politicians, and the conclusions arrived at had been determined, to a great extent, by the sentiments and opinions of the different parties as to the objects and purposes of the war. The friends of the administration were divided to some extent on this subject. By referring to the debates of Congress of 1862-3 it will be seen that quite a number of the friends of the administration in both Houses maintained that, by the act of secession, the rebellious States had placed themselves outside the Constitution, and were hereafter to be regarded and treated, not as members of the Union, but as alien enemies; that their State organizations and State boundaries had been expunged by their own act, and that they were to be readmitted to the jurisdiction of the constitution, and to the privileges of the Union, only on such terms and conditions as the National Government of the loyal States might prescribe. By the President and others friendly to the administration, it was held that the Acts of secession passed by the several States were absolutely null and void, and that, while the persons who passed them, and those who aided in giving them effect by taking up arms against the United States, had rendered themselves individually liable to the penalty of treason, they had not, in any respect, changed the relations of their States as such to the National Government.

The theory was, that the Government of those States had been, for a time, subverted; but they might at any time be re-established upon a republican basis under the authority of the United States. The proclamation before reverted to indicated, in the main, this theory. The President had the power, under the constitution and by the specific Acts of Congress, to grant pardons upon such conditions as he might think expedient. In the

exercise of this power the President released from legal penalties, and restored to citizenship, all in each State, with special exceptions, who should take and abide by a prescribed oath; and then he proclaimed his purpose to recognize them as citizens of such State, as alone competent to organize and carry on their local Government, and he pledged the power of the general Government to protect such Republican State Governments as they might establish, "against invasion and against domestic violence." By way of precaution against an usurpation of power by strangers, he insisted on the same qualification for voting as had been required by the constitution and laws of the State previous to secession, and to provide against usurpation of power by an insignificant minority, he also required that the new Government should be elected by at least one-tenth as many voters as had voted in the State at the Presidential election in 1860. In the oath which he imposed as essential to citizenship, the President required a pledge to sustain the constitution, the laws of Congress, and the Executive proclamations, and Acts on the subject of slavery, so long and so far as the same should not be declared invalid, and of no binding obligation by the Supreme Court of the United States. These were the foundations of the broad and substantial basis laid by the President for the restoration of the Union, and the re-establishment of loyal republican Governments in the several seceded States. After the issuing of the President's proclamation, parties were organized in Louisiana for the election of State officers; and at the election held, Michael Hahn was elected Governor, and was inaugurated March 4, 1864. An election was called for the election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention, and these delegates met in New Orleans on the 6th of April, and on the 10th of May they adopted, by a vote of 70 to 16, a clause in the new constitution by which slavery was forever abolished in that State. The constitution was adopted the 5th of September by a large majority. The State of Arkansas had followed the example, and had organized and re-established a loyal State Government and elected State officers.

The following clause in the President's proclamation is his justification for prescribing the peculiar oath which he made as a condition of pardon: "An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State Government, constructed in whole or prepondering part, from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one, which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former unsoundness. But if it be proper to require, as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and to the Union under it, then also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery. Those laws

and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided and will further aid the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and an astonishing breach of faith. I may add, at this point, that while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any Acts of Congress. For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is believed that the Executive may lawfully claim it, in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has a clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms which he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislative and supreme judicial decision."

The President had always manifested great interest in all measures introduced to alleviate and relieve the hardships and sufferings of the soldiers in the field and in the hospitals. At a fair for the benefit of the soldiers, under the auspices of the Sanitary Commission, held at the Patent Office in Washington, the President was an interested visitor. Being called upon to say a word in encouragement to those who were laboring for the suffering soldiers, and to those who were in attendance, he said: "In this extraordinary war there have been developments extraordinary, such as have never been seen in former wars; and among these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of the suffering soldiers and their families. I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women, but I must say that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women, were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America."

It was about a year before the fall of Richmond that a young lady, who had known Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln for years, visited Washington. She was a sensible, warm-hearted, refined woman, gifted with a marvelous voice and a graceful figure, but she was very homely. She called at the White House, and when she had gone with Mrs. Lincoln into a private room, Mr. Lincoln expressed his surprise to a friend, that "some good man had not been lucky enough to marry her," adding: "L— herself would be much happier if she were a wife and mother." A few moments later Major C—, a volunteer

officer, thoroughly respected by the President, and a bachelor, came into the study. The President looked at him thoughtfully. "What are you going to do when the war is over, C——?" he asked, suddenly. "Seek my fortune, I suppose," was the startled reply. "There it is in that room," said Mr. Lincoln. A frank, girlish laugh was heard at that moment. "No; you can't go to seek it now; business first—but there it is." That evening there was a reception at the White House. The President beckoned to Major C——: "Listen," he said. A lady, whom they could not see because of the crowd, was singing, in a voice of great beauty and sweetness, some joyous song. The Major would have moved forward, but Mr. Lincoln detained him, his eyes twinkling with shrewd mirth and fun. "Wait a bit," he said; "don't look at her face yet." Presently she sang a ballad with such sweetness and pathos that the Major's eyes grew dim. "Now, go; she is as good and true as her song." The good words of the President probably influenced both parties. In a few months they were married, and the union proved a happy one. "I did one wise thing in 1864," said the President, rubbing his chin, as was usual with him when well pleased; "I made that match."

A few months before the close of the war, Judge B—— of California, being in Washington, one day called on General Hallack, and presuming upon a familiar acquaintance in California a few years before, solicited a pass through our lines to see his father in Virginia, not expecting a refusal, as he and his father were known as Union men. "We have been deceived so often," said General Hallack, "and I regret I can't grant it." Judge B—— then went to Stanton, and was very briefly disposed of, with the same result. Finally he obtained an interview with the President, and stated his case. "Have you applied to General Hallack," inquired the President. "Yes; and met with a flat refusal," said Judge B——. "Then you must see Stanton," continued the President. "I have, and with the same result," was the reply. "Well, then," said Mr. Lincoln, with a smile, "I can do nothing for you, for, you must know, I have very little influence with this administration."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CHAMPION OF THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.

The popularity and success of Mr. Lincoln, both in private and public life, came from his sympathy and identification with the heart of the working people, and being one of them, his feelings, aims and efforts were enlisted in their interests and welfare, and his labors were directed to their amelioration and improvement. To elevate and dignify free industry had early in his life become a fixed principle, and from time to time had enlisted his attention and elicited from him expression strongly favorable on this subject. Mr. Lincoln, on his first advent in public life, placed himself on record as being the advocate of free labor and its elevation by his resolutions for the removal of slavery from the District of Columbia, and his memorable contest with Douglas against the extension of slavery and for the retention of the public lands for homesteads, for freedom and free labor. His advocacy of those principles was so utterly in opposition to the principles of the Democratic party under the administration of President Buchanan for, the extension of slavery in free territory, that President Lincoln came to be regarded by the industrial classes and working men of our own country, as well as the working men of Europe, as the champion and advocate of free lands and free labor, and for the elevation and education of the laboring classes.

On the 31st of December, 1863, large and enthusiastic meetings were held at Manchester and at London, in England, by the working men to express their opinions in regard to the civil war in the United States, and what its effects and bearing would be on the industrial classes. At these meetings, addresses to President Lincoln were adopted, expressing the kindest sentiments toward the United States, and declaring that since it had become evident that the destruction of slavery was involved in the overthrow of the rebellion, their sympathies had been and were heartily with the Government of the United States in the prosecution of the war.

These addresses were forwarded to the President through the American Minister at London, to which the President replied. From this reply we make the following extract :

"I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working men in Manchester and London, and in all Europe are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this Government which was built on the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain favor in Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens the working men of Europe have been subjected to severe trials for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the questions as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. Indeed, it is an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity and freedom. I have no doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great Nation; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatsoever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exists between the two Nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual."

On the 21st of March, 1864, a committee from the Workingmen's Association of the city of New York waited upon the President and delivered an address, stating the general objects and purposes of the association, and requesting that he would allow his name to be enrolled among its honorary members. We subjoin in part the President's reply to this committee:

"Gentlemen of the Committee—The honorary membership in your association as generously tendered is gratefully received. You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more and tends to do more than the perpetuation of African slavery; that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of working people. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the highest consideration. Capital has its rights which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied, that there is and probably always will be a relation between capital and labor, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of a community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor

themselves, and with their capital hire or buy other few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others work for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern States a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men, with their families, wives, sons and daughters, work for themselves on their farms, in their houses and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves and asking no favors of the capital on the other hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingled their own labors with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them, but this is a mixed, not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class. Again, as has been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the freed hired laborer being fixed in that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for a while for wages, saves a surplus with which to buy land and tools for himself, then labors on his own account for a while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all and consequently energy, progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to touch or take ought which they have not honestly earned. The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working men of all nations, tongues and kindred. Nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; it is a positive good to the world. That some are rich, shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build himself one, thus by example assuring that his own should be safe from violence when built.”

Giving further evidence of the President's principles in favor of the working men and free lands, we add an extract of his message to Congress of December 9, 1863:

“It has long been a cherished opinion of some of our wisest statesmen, that the people of the United States had a higher and more enduring interest in the early settlement and substantial cultivation of the public lands than in the amount of revenue to be derived from the sale of them. This opinion has had a controlling influence in shaping legislation upon the subject of our

National domain. This policy has received its most signal and beneficent illustrations in the recent enactment granting homesteads to actual settlers. Since the 1st day of January last 1,556,515 acres have been taken under its provisions. This fact furnishes gratifying evidences of the increasing settlement upon the public lands, notwithstanding the great struggle in which the energies of the Nation have been engaged, and which has required so large a withdrawal of our citizens from their accustomed pursuits. I doubt not that Congress will cheerfully adopt such measures as will, without essentially changing the general features of the system, secure, to the greatest practical extent, its benefit to those who have left their homes in defense of their country in this arduous conflict."

In the principles enunciated in his reply to the working men of England to the address of the Workingmen's Association of the city of New York, and in his measures and recommendations to Congress for the enactment of laws granting homesteads to actual settlers on the public lands the President placed himself and the Republican party he represented firmly on record as the representatives of the industrial classes, and as the party whose measures have been and are still for the promotion of the interest and the elevation and liberal compensation of free labor through the entire Union. In a larger and more general sense Mr. Lincoln early in life became a representative man for the American system of protection, for the principle that, in the imposition of tariff duties, the protection of our home industries should be the object, and revenue the result.

In the great political contest of 1844 Mr. Lincoln, as a candidate for Presidential elector on the Clay ticket, fully established his reputation as a strong reasoner and powerful advocate in favor of protective duties in the numerous addresses he delivered in Illinois and Indiana during that canvass. His exposition of the principles of that system and the fallacies of free trade were elaborate. The results have followed the protective policy and have been wonderfully realized in the establishment of industries in all sections of the Union, and remunerative employment and wages to our laborers and artisans, and a home market for our agricultural productions. The beneficial results to our country from this policy can only be estimated by its wonderful growth and prosperity, and its advancement in all the essentials of power and greatness, until it has become the first amongst the nations of the earth. No President since the inception of our Government has left so deep and lasting an impression of his policy on our republican institutions. No administration has been so beneficial in its adaption to the wants and elevation of all classes of our citizens, as the administration of President Lincoln. These principles and his policy, which has been the rule, and under which our Government has

been administered for the past twenty years, have carried our country and people forward in steady progress and prosperity, until now we have the exhibition of a great nation, perfectly free, remarkable in its progress, united in national interests, and with character and standing among the nations of the world, in prosperity and true greatness unequaled in the history of ancient or modern times.

This unexampled development and expansion of our country, and the unfolding of its future greatness and possibilities, and the success of its people is attested by the thousands of happy and prosperous homes spread out over the great West from the "Father of Waters" to the placid Pacific, with public schools, churches and all the appliances of a high and free civilization, and the establishment of mechanical and manufacturing industries from the White Mountains to the Rio Grande, are enduring testimonials of the beneficent results of the principles and home policy of Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER XL.

GLIMPSES OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

Much has been written and said relative to President Lincoln's religion and his Christian experience and life. No President of our Republic has lived whose Christian utterances and gentle piety have been so marked as in many of his State papers. His religion was that which had sympathy for human sorrow and suffering of every class and kind; that charity and love which would lift the burden from the oppressed and give joy and relief whenever possible. He was always very reserved in respect to his Christian experience and belief, seemingly wanting faith and confidence to make a personal application of the provisions and promises of the Gospel to himself, but in his utterances, writings and examples, there shine brightly ideals of true Christian character. His invocation for the prayers of his friends and neighbors when he left his home in Springfield to assume the duties of chief magistrate, for divine aid and guidance, was beautiful and touching in the extreme. His letter to his step-brother, written a short time previous to his father's death, leaves no question as to his piety and Christianity. It is as follows:

" SPRINGFIELD, January 12, 1851.

" DEAR BROTHER: On the day before yesterday I received a letter from Harriet, written at Greenup. She says she has just returned from your house, and that father is very low and will hardly recover. She also says that you have written me two letters, and that, although you do not expect me to come, you wonder that I don't write. I received both of your letters, and although I have not answered them, it is not because I have forgotten them or been interested about them, but because it appeared to me that I could not write anything that would do any good. You already know that I desire that neither father nor mother shall be in want of any comfort, either in health or sickness, while they live, and I feel sure you have not failed to use my name, if necessary, to procure a doctor or anything else for father in his present sickness. My business is such that I could hardly leave home now, if it was not as it is, that my own wife is sick a-bed. I sincerely hope that father may yet recover his health, but at all events tell him to

remember to call upon and confide in our great, good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from Him any in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones who have gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope, ere long, to join them. Write to me again when you receive this. Affectionately,

A. LINCOLN."

His reliance, in his later years, upon divine guidance and assistance, was often expressed with much tenderness and feeling. He once remarked: "I have been driven many times to my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go. My own wisdom and that of all about me seemed insufficient for that day and occasion." On another occasion he said: "I should consider myself the most presumptuous blockhead upon this footstool if I, for one day, thought that I could discharge the duties which have come upon me since I came into this place, without the aid and enlightenment of One who is wiser and stronger than all others."

In addition to his official duties, anxieties and troubles, in February, 1862, came the severe affliction in the death of his lovely and cherished son, Willie, and the severe illness of his youngest son, Thomas. This was a painful stroke and a visitation which, in his firm reliance and faith in an overruling Providence, he could not understand. That this severe affliction should be added to the burdens he was already bearing, when it would seem necessary that comfort and relief should come to him from the endearing affections that cluster around the home and household, was a mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence to him, and a trial of his faith severe indeed. These tender relations of home and the family influences, which had done so much to mould and form Lincoln's character in early life, he carried with him in his own domestic and family relations, and home, to him, was a place of rest, of social enjoyment and of domestic tranquility. His tenderness for his children was profound, and with them he enjoyed a never-ceasing source of happiness and delight. In this sad affliction of the President he had the consolation derived from the experience of a pious Christian, whose testimony enabled him to bear with some resignation his heavy burden.

A Christian lady, who was a nurse in one of the hospitals, was called to attend the sick children. She says: The President watched with her at the bedside of the dying child, and that, walking back and forth across the room, he would exclaim: "This is the hardest trial of my life. Why is it? Why is it?" He inquired of her concerning her experience and situation.

She told him she was a widow, and that her husband and two children were in heaven, and added that she saw the hand of God in it all, and that she had never loved Him so much before as she had since her affliction. "How could that be? How could that be brought about?" inquired the President. She replied, "Simply by trusting God and feeling that he does all things well." Did you submit fully under the first loss?" he asked. "No," she answered; "not wholly; but as blow came upon blow, and all were taken, I could and did submit, and was resigned and happy, as I could look forward soon to a reunion in a kingdom where afflictions and separations are unknown." He said, "I am glad to hear you say that; your experience will help me bear my afflictions."

On the morning of Master Willie's funeral this Christian lady assured the President that he was having the prayers of many Christians for his support and submission to the Divine will in his great affliction. As he wiped the tears from his eyes, he said: "I am glad to know that. I want them to pray for me. I need their prayers." And as the good lady expressed her deep sympathy with him, he thanked her kindly, and said: "I will try and and go to God with my sorrows." Some days afterward she asked him if he now could trust God. He replied: "I think I can, and I will try. I wish I had that childlike faith you speak of, and I trust He will give it to me." He then referred to the death of his loving, affectionate mother whose loss he was called to mourn when he was quite a youth, and the sad impressions which were then made never to be effaced in this life. He said, "I remember her prayers; they have always followed me; they have clung to me all my life."

On a subsequent occasion, this Christian woman was at the White House. It was after the second defeat at Bull Run. The President was much distressed at the number of killed and wounded, and he said: "I have done the best I could. I have asked God to guide me, and now I must leave the result with Him." On an other occasion, having learned by telegraph that a great battle was in progress at a very important point, he came into the room where the lady was nursing a member of the family, looking weary and haggard, and saying that he felt so anxious that he could not eat anything. The possibility of defeat oppressed him deeply. The lady told him that he must trust God, and that he could at least pray. "Yes," said he, and, taking up a Bible, he started for his room. Could his fellow-citizens have heard the earnest prayer that was uttered in that sacred chamber as it reached the ears of the nurse, they would have raised their aspirations to the great Giver of all good in tearful and reverential sympathy.

In the afternoon a telegram came announcing a Union victory. He came

directly into the room, his face radiant with pleasure and joy, saying: "Good news, good news; the victory is ours and God is good." The pious lady suggested, "Nothing like prayer." "Yes there is," he said; "prayer and praise." This Christian woman, who related these incidents, says: "I do believe he is a true Christian, although he has very little confidence in himself."

We may note one incident here, showing the interest taken by the President in the labors and influence of religious men. Colonel Loomis, commandant at Fort Columbus, was to be removed because he had passed the legal limit of age for active service. His religious influences were so salutary and powerful that the Chaplain of the post appealed to Rev. J. T. Duryea of New York to use his influence with the President for the good officer's retention at the post. Accordingly, as requested, Mr. Duryea wrote a request and forwarded it to the President, making the request sorely on religious grounds. "What does Mr. Duryea know of military matters?" inquired the President, with a smile, of the bearer of his petition. "Nothing," replied the gentleman, "and he makes no request on military considerations. The record of Colonel Loomis for fifty years in the War Department will furnish these. He simply asks to retain the influences and services of a man whose Christian character and example are pure and constant; who holds religious exercises at the post, leads a weekly prayer-meeting and teaches a Bible class in the Sunday-school." The President replied: "That is his highest possible recommendation. Take this petition to the Secretary of War with my approval." The Colonel was retained at his post until his services were required at more important points of service.

In the labors and peculiar work of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions in the army, the President always took a deep and personal interest, and attended all the important meetings of those charitable bodies held in Washington, and on all occasions gave them his official and personal approval. In 1864 a meeting of the Christian Commission was held in the National Capitol, which the President attended. The reports of the successful measures and results of that noble, charitable organization gave him much pleasure. He was specially interested and gratified by the remarks of Chaplain McCabe, who had been recently released from Libby prison at Richmond, and who gave an interesting statement of the joyous scene among the prisoners on the reception of the glorious news of the Union victory at Gettysburg, as they took up and sang Mrs. Howe's spirited poem, beginning with the line, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," and made the prison walls resound with the soul-inspiring melody. The Chaplain on this occasion sang it with his rich and powerful voice, and the audience joined in the chorus, and as the patriotic melody reverberated

through the corridors of the capitol the hearts of the audience were stirred as never before. The President was so well pleased that he called for its repetition. It was a carol that he could enjoy and appreciate, and it moved him with a sensibility that was acute and overwhelming.

In his circular issued to the army November 16th, relative to the observance of the Christian Sabbath, he said: "The importance of man and beast for the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people and a due regard for the Divine will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the National forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperiled by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High." Language could not express more definitely and forcibly how highly he had associated the will of the Most High with the National cause, and how deep was his reverence for the claims and institutions of Christianity.

While the President was struggling with the weight of personal trials and National responsibilities he was receiving the support and commendation of all the various organizations which constitute the Christian church of the loyal portion of the United States. Representatives of religious and philanthropic organizations throughout the Christian world united their commendations with those of our own country in expressions of personal sympathy of loyalty and of devotion to the Union, intermingled with counsels, prayers, incitements and hopes, came to him from every hand, and his responses to those manifestations of loyalty and sympathy, whether oral or written, manifested the spirit and feelings of a true Christian man in unison with the prayers and sympathies of a Christian people.

Mrs. Lincoln, soon after their marriage, became a member of the Presbyterian Church in Springfield, Illinois, and with her husband and children were regular attendants of that church under the ministrations of Rev. Albert Hale. We can appropriately close this chapter with an anecdote quite characteristic. Soon after the President's first inauguration he attended the Foundry Church, occupying a seat within the altar, while Bishop Simpson preached a missionary sermon. After the collection was taken up at the close of the service and the congregation was about to be dismissed, an irrepressible brother arose and proposed to be one of a given number to raise \$100 to make President Lincoln a life Director of the missionary society. The proposition was put and Brothers A., B. and C. responded glibly, but the inevitable pause finally came; part of the money was wanting. When the Bishop announced, "who will take the balance," the pause became slightly impressive. Then the long form of the President was seen to rise, a long, bony arm was extended imploringly, and he said: "Bishop, this is the first time I have ever been placed upon the auction block, Please let me pay the balance myself and take me down."

CHAPTER XLI.

DISCONTENT AND DISQUIET IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The quadrennial period had returned for the election of the Chief Magistrate of the Union. The poor, humble boy, reared in the Western wilds, who had been called by the people, step by step, from his lowly condition to the highest and most exalted in the gift of the American people, was now about to submit his stewardship for approval to his fellow-countryman. The past four years had been to him years of intense interest and solicitude; at times of hope and confidence, at others of darkness and fears. How faithfully the President had discharged the high and important interests committed to his keeping for the past four years was now a subject of National consideration. This National event, coming in the midst of the bitter contest of the civil war, in which were involved questions which divided even the loyal citizens of the Union, was considered by friends and foes, both at home and abroad, as one of the most severe ordeals to which our republican institutions could be called to undergo. The Union was suffering in all its diversified interests from the distresses of the war. The country, cities and towns had often willingly and nobly responded to the calls for financial aid, and the numerous calls for volunteers from time to time had been promptly filled, and still the result could not be seen.

It can well be imagined that disinterested observers questioned a favorable result as to the power of the Government in a crisis like this to change its rulers, maintain its republican principles inviolate, and continue to hold those principles among the Governments of the world.

During the four years of Mr. Lincoln's administration many of his friends, who originally supported him, became dissatisfied with his conduct of public affairs. Some thought that their friends had been slighted in the appointments made, and others that their advice had not been accepted and adopted. The anti-slavery men thought that the President was too slow and lenient, and the pro-slavery men thought he was too severe. In the great questions at issue it could not well be otherwise that there should be differences of

opinion as to the true policy to be pursued by the administration, and when the time drew near for the Republican nominations to be made those differences and the elements of dissatisfaction and discord became painfully apparent. Mr. Chase, the popular Secretary of the Treasury, who had long desired and coveted the highest office in the gift of the people, early in the canvass had been mentioned as one who would enter the field as a candidate. The management of the National finances had given the Secretary a reputation of distinguished ability and success. Mr. Chase, by virtue of his office and the patronage connected with it, gained power and influence which, under ordinary circumstances, it would have been difficult to overcome. General Fremont, ambitious and desirous of pre-eminence, had his friends, but they were of that anti-slavery element of the Republican party who were not satisfied with the President's policy and his treatment of the slavery question. They were willing and anxious to make capital on that question in the General's favor.

It soon became evident, however, that the pretensions or claims of those aspirants created but a ripple on the great sea of public opinion, and that the great body of the Union citizens would favor the President's re-election. The people, although burdened and suffering from the war, the end of which could not be seen, were conscious that the ultimate success of the Union cause was assured, and having confidence in the experience, integrity and honesty of the President, they were satisfied that the policy of the administration should be continued. Secretary Chase early became satisfied that the Union sentiment was opposed to a change in the administration, and withdrew from the contest. While there could be no particular objection to an honest and generous rivalry for the Presidency within the Republican party, the call for an organization and convention to meet at Cleveland on the 31st of May was an anti-administration movement in opposition to the regular Republican Convention that was to meet in Baltimore on the 8th of June. The Convention at Cleveland met at the appointed time, and was composed of a small number of self-appointed politicians. It was not the creation of a public sentiment, and its action failed to divide the adherents of the administration. General Fremont's name served to give vitality and influence to the movement. He received the nomination for President, and John Cochrane for Vice-President. This movement of General Fremont and the sentiments and utterances in his letter of acceptance constituted the most ungrateful and lamentable feature in the whole proceedings, when he well knew that the whole movement would tend to divide and destroy the Union party. General Fremont could not have forgotten that eight years before he had been selected as the standard bearer of the Republican party, and that now he did not exhibit a generous spirit in his attempt to divide it.

He had received from the President the appointment of Major-General and command of the department of the West; and after his failure there, the President gave him another department. The President, from the commencement of the war, gave repeated evidences of his good will and kind regards; but it is equally true that after the General's failures, he had lost confidence in his administrative and military abilities. The Republican party had been true and faithful to General Fremont, and when in his letter of acceptance he endeavored to destroy the official reputation of the President, he was ungenerously engaged in an effort to ruin the party that had given him prominence and distinction. The fulminations and charges made by General Fremont against the administration found no favor with the Republican party, and no attention was given to its implications by the President, save that of silent and merited contempt. In September the General withdrew from the canvass, when it became evident to all that his demonstration was an entire failure; and in his letter of withdrawal he again reiterated the sentiments uttered in his letter of acceptance. These fulminations of General Fremont against the President failed signally of their design and were regarded as the manifestoes of one who, without reason or cause, imagined that he had not been well treated by the administration. Those futile attempts to create parties opposed to the policy of the President and the conduct of the war gave him but little disquietude and concern. To one who accused the Secretary to him of using the patronage of his department to forward his own Presidential prospects, the President replied: "Well, Chase would make a good President; and, so far as I am concerned, I wish some one would take it off my hands." We may not infer from this or from the seeming indifference to the manifestations of opposition to his policy, that he did not feel a deep solicitude and a strong desire for the approbation and commendation of the Union party, and for its support of his measures for the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the National unity. But in the great struggle for the life of the Republic, these ebullitions of disappointed or aspiring politicians gave the President but little unrest or anxiety. At this time the burden of his country was upon him; matters far more important than who should be candidates for the Presidency were uppermost in his thoughts and mind. Weary and worn he was working early and late in the interests of humanity and freedom for the future of his country and for the amelioration of a race; and, for the accomplishments of these great purposes, he was directing the operations of a great Government, and an army grand in its achievements and numbers, and composed of the youth and patriots of the Nation. These weighty responsibilities of the President wore severely on his physical and nervous system, and at times when the burdens were the most heavy upon him from failures or disasters by his chief officers in their

military operations, he manifested depression of spirits and melancholy, and this was more particularly observed at the time and during General McClellan's failure in the peninsula campaign. Speaking of the war, he said to Mrs. Stowe, the authoress: "Whichever way it ends I have the impression that I shall not last long after it is over." The Hon. Schuyler Colfax met him one morning after having received bad news which had not been made public. He had not slept during the night nor breakfasted, and he exclaimed, "How willingly would I exchange places to-day with the soldiers who sleep on the ground in the Army of the Potomac." It was during the failure and disasters of 1862, a member of Congress called upon him for consultation on some matter, when the President began to tell a story. "Mr. President," said the member, "I did not come here to hear stories; it is too serious a time." The smile left the President's face as he replied: "Howley, I respect you as an earnest and sincere man. You cannot be more anxious than I am constantly, and I say to you now, that if it was not for this occasional vent I should die. I feel a presentiment that I shall not outlast the rebellion. When it is over my work will be done." That most solemn and binding oath taken by the President when inaugurated, "To preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," was to him the paramount object and desire of his daily life and existence. He realized and felt that the people were with him in his efforts, and he also understood fully that their hopes centered upon him, and that he alone would be held responsible for the fulfillment of the high trust placed in his hands. With this grave responsibility resting upon him, the most difficult and momentous of modern times, his own party divided in their views of his policy, and a large number of citizens of the loyal States opposed to his administration and in sympathy with the rebellion. His calm, dispassionate, patient and conservative management of National affairs fully won the confidence and love of his people, and the admiration and praise of the civilized world. It was not for his party, it was not for himself, but it was for his country that he toiled and labored. His thoughts were for his country and his country's good. He said, on one occasion: "Let the Nation take hold of the larger works and the States the smaller ones; and thus working in a meeting direction, discretely, but steadily and firmly, what is made unequal in one place may be equalized in another, extravagance may be avoided, and the whole country be put on that career of prosperity which shall correspond with its extent of territory, its National resources and the intelligence and enterprise of its people."

CHAPTER XLII.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND NOMINATION.

On the 4th of June, four days before the time appointed for the meeting of the Baltimore Convention, a meeting was held in the city of New York, called, it was understood, to express the gratitude of the Nation to General Grant and the soldiers under his command for their labors and success in the Union cause, but the object was really to bring forward General Grant as a rival candidate for the Presidency. To cover the real purposes of the meeting the managers sent President Lincoln an invitation to attend it. In reply, the President sent them the following letter:

“GENTLEMEN: Your letter inviting me to be present at a mass meeting of the loyal citizens, to be held in New York on the 4th instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend. I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him does not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns moving to his and their support.”

The political purposes prompting the call for this meeting were entirely neutralized by this simple and touching appeal made by the President in this letter to the loyalty and patriotism of the country. Its effect was to stimulate promptly and extensively the efforts that were being made to fill up the ranks of the army, and thus effectually aid General Grant in the great campaign by which he intended to end the war. General Grant, in a private letter to a friend, however, put a decided stop to all the attempts of politicians to make his name the occasion of a division among Union men, by decidedly refusing to allow himself to be made a candidate, and reiterated in still

more emphatic and hopeful words, the President's appeal to the people for aid and support. There was an entire failure in all those schemes of the several ambitious aspirants for political leadership, and they all failed to have any effect upon the firm sentiment and purposes of the great body of the loyal people. The loyal citizens of the Union appreciated the necessity and fully realized the importance of continuing the administration of the Government in the same hands. They saw clearly that nothing would more effectually paralyze the efforts of the rebels and impress the world with the stability of the Union cause than the resolute determination of the people to preserve the Union at all events, and at whatsoever cost, and the indorsement, by a popular vote, of the policy of the President, by whom the war had thus far been conducted. By this the Nation would prove its entire faith in his integrity and sagacity, and its confidence in his devotion to the public interest.

The Republican Convention met at Baltimore on the day appointed, June 7th. It numbered nearly five hundred delegates, chosen by the voters of the Congressional Districts of the loyal States, and the loyal citizens of the States of Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas, in which the rebel authority had been overthrown, sent delegates. Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, a stern and uncompromising Unionist, was chosen temporary Chairman, and Hon. William Dennison, ex-Governor of Ohio, was elected permanent President of the Convention. Henry J. Raymond, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the platform, which was adopted, with warm approval, and with entire unanimity. It was as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the constitution and the laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences and political opinions, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes, the rebels and traitors in arms against it.

"Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and the laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in the full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

“ Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the National safety demand its utter extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold and maintain the Acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the constitution, to be made by the people, in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States.

“ Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the Nation, within the constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the Nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry out these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

“ Resolved, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations, in the time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

“ Resolved, That the foreign immigration which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources, and increase of power to this Nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

“ Resolved, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific Coast.

“ Resolved, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just taxation; that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency.

“ Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the Government; that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the

attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican Government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this, our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical Governments, sustained by a foreign military force in near proximity to the United States."

After the adoption of the resolutions, which was done unanimously and with great enthusiasm, came the balloting for a Presidential candidate. At the first ballot, Mr. Lincoln received every vote, except twenty-two from Missouri, which, under instructions, were given for General Grant. Mr. Lincoln received four hundred and ninety-seven votes, and on motion of Mr. Hume, one of the Missouri delegates, his nomination was made unanimous, amidst intense excitement. In the contest for Vice-President, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee received on the final vote, 492; Hon. D. L. Dickerson of New York, 17; Vice-President Hamlin, 9. The National Executive Committee was then appointed, and the Convention adjourned.

On the 9th of June the committee appointed (one from each State, in which Hon. John Bidwell represented California), to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination, waited upon him at the White House. Governor Dennison, President of the Convention, and Chairman of the committee, made the address and handed him a copy of the platform. The President said in reply: "Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee—I will neither conceal my gratification nor restrain the expression of my gratitude that the Union people, through their Convention, in the continued effort to save and advance the Nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered, and yet perhaps I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say now, however, that I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the Nation. When the people in revolt with the hundred days explicit notice, that they could, within those days, resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institutions, and that they could not resume it afterward, elected to stand out, such an amendment of the constitution as is now proposed becomes a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. I now perceive its importance and embrace it. Such alone can meet and cover all cavils in the joint names of liberty and union. Let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect. Having served four years in the depths of a great and unended National peril, I can view this call to a second term in nowise more flattering to myself than as an expression of the public judgment that I may better finish a difficult work,

in which I have labored from the first, than could anyone else less severely schooled to the task. In this view, and with assured reliance on the Almighty Ruler, who has so graciously sustained us so far, and with increased gratitude to the generous people for their continued confidence, I accept the renewed trust, with its onerous and perplexing duties and responsibilities."

On the same day, a deputation from the National Union League waited upon the President, and the Chairman addressed him as follows: "Mr. President—I have the honor of introducing to you the representatives of the Union League of the loyal States, to congratulate you on your nomination, and to assure you that we will not fail at the polls to give you the support that your services in the past so highly deserve. We feel honored in doing this, for we are assured that we are aiding in re-electing to the proud position of President of the United States one so highly worthy of it, one among not the least of whose claims is that he was the emancipator of four millions of bondmen."

The President replied as follows: "Gentlemen—I can only say in response to the remarks of your Chairman that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me, both by the Convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this, yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment. The Convention and the Nation, I am assured, are alike animated by a higher view of the interests of the country for the present and the great future, and the part I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment is only that part which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the Convention and the League, that I am not entirely unworthy to be interested with the place I have occupied for the last three years. I have not permitted myself, gentlemen, to conclude that I am the best man in the country, but I am reminded in this connection of a story of an old Dutch farmer, who remarked to a companion once: 'That it was not best to swap horses when crossing a stream.'"

On the evening of the same day the President was serenaded by the delegation from Ohio, and with them a large crowd had assembled in front of the Executive Mansion, and at the close of a brief speech, the President said: "What we want more than Baltimore Conventions or Presidential elections, is success under General Grant. I propose that you constantly bear in mind that the support you owe to the brave officers and soldiers in the field is of the very first importance, and we should therefore bend all our energies to that point. Now, without detaining you any longer, I propose that you help me to close up what I am now saying, with three rousing cheers for General Grant and the officers and soldiers under his command." The three rousing cheers were given with a will, the President himself leading off and waving his hat as earnestly as anyone present.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS, 1864.

Two months after the nomination of President Lincoln for the second term by the Baltimore Convention, the Democratic Convention was to convene in Chicago. The object in deferring said Convention to so late a date was evidently with the hope and possibility that the events of the war and disasters in the military operations, then in progress, would give that Convention the policy of taking issues with the administration as to the further prosecution of the war for the suppression of the rebellion. During the period that intervened between the time of holding the two Conventions there was for a short time after the nomination of Mr. Lincoln a firm belief in the favorable results of the campaign. But later in the canvass, before the meeting of the Democratic Convention, the friends of the administration became despondent and a spirit of anxiety and unrest seemed to pervade the friends of the President, and there was evidently for a time a distrust of the future and a question of the propriety of the choice that had been made. Politicians could not give any reason or cause for this state of public feeling, but it was evidently in part from a feeling of consciousness that the people were becoming tired and restive under the constant calls for men and material for the prosecution of the war, the end of which could not be seen or anticipated.

There were still divisions in the Republican party on questions of public interest, but they gave the President but little trouble or concern. The friends of the administration, however, feared that those dissensions would have an unfavorable result on the pending canvass. The most serious division in the Republican ranks was on the plan of reconstruction of the rebel States. Early in July, Congress passed a plan of reconstruction which was embodied in a bill passed after much debate and heated discussion. In the advocacy and preparation of this bill, Henry W. Davis of Maryland, and Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, prominent Republicans, were eminently and prominently active in procuring its passage. The President's views on that subject were not fully in accord with some of its provisions, and it did not

meet with his approval. Immediately after the adjournment of Congress the President issued a proclamation on the subject, in which he stated that he was unprepared by his approval of the bill to commit the administration to any single act or method of reconstruction or to set aside the Union State Governments then in force in Arkansas and Louisiana. He was, however, willing that the plan embodied in the bill should be recognized as one with others, and so made the bill a part of his proclamation. This action of the President offended Messrs. Davis and Wade, who joined in a bitter, offensive article against the President, and published the same in the *New York Tribune*. In its strictures on the President's motives, it was a paper unworthy of its authors, and gave much pain and anxiety to the friends of the administration.

The growing solicitude of the people for peace and the suppression of the rebellion gave much anxiety and serious thought to the President. One of the many efforts that was made by the rebels and their friends in the loyal States was to create a sentiment and conviction with the people that the Government and its supporters were not anxious for peace, and that it did not accept and improve the opportunities that were offered to promote this result. The President had no evidence that the Rebel Confederacy desired peace on any conditions or terms that would be satisfactory or acceptable to the loyal citizens of the Union. To secure a peace the President could entertain no proposition that did not fully provide for the restoration of the Union under the constitution, and the abolition of slavery. These were essential conditions which the President could not ignore without being recreant to the great trust reposed in him, and to the solemn oath he had taken, and to the loyal citizens and soldiers who had given their treasure and lives to save the Union. Efforts in this direction were made from Niagara Falls in July by two noted rebels, C. C. Clay of Alabama, and Jacob Thompson of Mississippi. They claimed that they were duly authorized by the rebel Confederacy to negotiate a peace. They, through Horace Greeley, endeavored to obtain a safe conduct to Washington from the President for that purpose. In answer to the letter of Mr. Greeley, the President replied: "If you can find any person anywhere professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him that he may come to me with you."

In a letter of a later date by the President to Mr. Greeley, the President said: "I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners. If they would consent to come on being shown my letter to you of the 9th instant, show that and this to them, and if they will consent to come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that

it is made." With this letter from the President, Mr. Greeley repaired to Niagara Falls, and informed the said commissioners in a note that if they were duly commissioned from Richmond as bearers of propositions for peace he was ready and authorized to give them permission to visit Washington and to accompany them. In reply to this note of Mr. Greeley's, the self-styled commissioners stated that the safe conduct by the President had been given under a misapprehension of the case, and further, they now stated that they had no authority from the Confederate Government for negotiating a peace. They stated, however, that they were in the service of that Government, and were familiar with its wishes, and that they could be invested with power to act as commissioners. It appears that Mr. Greeley had not informed the commissioners of the terms of Mr. Lincoln's letter of the 9th, in which a safe conduct was for those who had propositions for peace conditioned upon the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery. In order that the President should not be misunderstood, on the 18th he sent Major Hay to Niagara with the following letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864.

"To Whom It May Concern: Any proposition which embraces the restoration of the whole Union, and the abolishment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive Government of the United States, and will be met on liberal terms, on substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways."

This letter of the President gave the would-be commissioners plain and undisguised terms in which propositions for peace would be received from the rebel Government, and they having no authority to negotiate, proceeded to impugn the conduct of the President, and charged him with being adverse to negotiations for peace, and that in the actions of the President with them there was evidently no desire to open negotiations for that object. This letter was addressed to Mr. Greeley and published in the *New York Tribune* and all the papers in sympathy with the rebellion. The President was not willing at that time to have all the correspondence in relation to the subject published, as a portion he thought would have an unfavorable effect on the result of the war. Efforts were made to create the impression that the President had not pursued an honorable course with the irresponsible ambassadors, and that instead of inviting proposals for peace, his conduct had repelled the same. As Mr. Greeley declined to have the correspondence published unless that portion which the President thought would be improper

at that time should be retained, the President sent a line to H. J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, under date of August 15, 1864:

“MY DEAR SIR: I have proposed to Mr. Greeley that the Niagara correspondence be published, suppressing only the parts of his letter, over which red pencil is drawn in the copy which I herewith send. He declines giving his consent to the publication of his letters unless these parts be published with the rest. I have concluded that it is better for me to submit for the time to the consequences of publishing these discouraging and injurious parts. I send you this and the accompanying copy not for publication, but merely to explain to you, and that you preserve them until the proper time shall come. Yours truly,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

In the correspondence, since published, there is no evidence that Mr. Greeley ever informed the rebel emissaries of the President's original conditions for a safe conduct and interview. For the good of the country the President was willing to bear the charge of having pursued an inconsistent course with them, and of having repelled offers of peace, until such time as the facts in the case could be published without detriment to the Union cause. Every effort possible was now being made by those opposed to the war and in sympathy with the rebellion to create a peace party in the loyal States, to paralyze the efforts of the administration for the restoration of the Union, and to widen the dissensions in the Republican party. These futile efforts of the enemies of the Union gave the President but little concern. They were but the ebullitions and throes of the rebellion in its last stage of dissolution, with indications that it had passed the limit of resuscitation. A more significant and positive enunciation of the purposes of the rebellion than was shadowed by the Niagara imbroglio came directly from the President of the Confederacy at Richmond. The Rev. Colonel James F. Jaques of the 73d regiment, Illinois, with J. R. Gilmore, Esq., of New York, had, with President Lincoln's knowledge, but without his formal permission, made a visit to the rebel capital. Their object was to obtain direct from President Davis the terms or conditions on which peace could be obtained, and reunion assured. They were allowed to pass through the lines of both armies for that purpose. On their arrival in Richmond, they addressed a letter to J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, stating their object and requesting an interview with President Davis, which was given; and a long, earnest conversation ensued, and at the close, President Davis presented his terms in the following words:

“I desire peace as much as you do. I feel that not one drop of the blood shed in this war is on my hands. I can look up to my God and say this. I tried all in my power to avert this war. I saw it coming, and for twelve years I worked night and day to prevent it, but I could not. The North was

mad and blind. It would not let us govern ourselves, and so the war came, and it must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight our battles, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for slavery, we are fighting for independence, and that or extermination we will have. Say to Mr. Lincoln, from me, that I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals for peace on the basis of our independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other."

The illusive theory and statements of the leaders of the opposition to the administration in the loyal States, that the Confederates were not fighting against the Union, but against abolition, were disproved and denied by the arch traitor himself, and the publication of President Davis' ultimatum gave power and strength to the Union cause. It was now understood and settled that the war must go on until the independence of the Southern Confederacy should be acknowledged or the Union restored.

CHAPTER XLIV.

RESULT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST, 1864.

The anxiety and uncertainty in the public mind as to the action of the Democratic Convention were now to be relieved, for the time of its meeting was now at hand. It met at Chicago on the 29th of August. General Grant, with his army, was before Petersburg, holding General Lee in Richmond, and General Sherman, with his army, was in the heart of the Confederacy before Atlanta. The results of the military movements, although favorable, were still undecided. Gigantic efforts were being made to furnish men for the reinforcements of the Union forces. The loyal element of the Democratic party was still in favor of the suppression of the rebellion and restoration of the Union by the military power. The disloyal portion of the Democratic party in sympathy with the Confederacy was now congregated at Chicago. Evidences were not wanting that this meeting would give relief to the administration and confidence to the friends of the Union, and that the labors and results of that Convention would strengthen the Union cause, and prove an ally, instead of an enemy, to the restoration of the National authority. In reviewing, at this time, the incidents and events that transpired during the first four years of President Lincoln's administration, we see the direction of that overruling Providence, in the spirit and acts of that Convention, which was so conducted and directed that its action strengthened the Union cause, which it intended to subvert and destroy. Mr. Vallandigham, who had been sent to his friends in the South by the President, and who had returned without leave, was the leading spirit and figurehead of the Convention. Mr. Long, member of Congress from Ohio, who had declared himself in favor of recognizing the rebel Confederacy, and who had been declared by the House of Representatives as an unworthy member of that body, was conspicuous on that occasion, as were a full representation of those who had opposed coercion and who still sympathized and gave aid and comfort to the rebellion. Mr. Vallandigham was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. He was treated by the Convention as one who had suffered martyrdom for

the Democratic party. He who had been defeated for Governor of his State by over one hundred thousand votes, was the most active and influential member of the Convention, and his sympathizing friend, Governor Seymour of New York, was made President of the Convention. The platform adopted was made up largely of denunciations of the policy and course of the administration for the suppression of the rebellion. It gave no plan or policy for the restoration of the Union, but demanded that there should be a cessation of hostilities. General George B. McClellan was nominated for President, and George H. Pendleton for Vice-President. The Convention, after finishing up its business, adjourned, subject to be called together again at any time or place that its Executive Committee might designate. This action of the Convention, so unusual and peculiar, seemed to indicate purposes and possibilities that might arise, which was considered as not in keeping with the patriotism it had assumed. From the time the Convention adjourned, the feelings of uncertainty and doubt that seemed to have prevailed with the friends of the administration, were entirely dispelled, and confidence was fully restored, and all, even many of the Democratic leaders, anticipated the triumph of the Republican party.

In October, the question of the adoption of a new constitution for the State of Maryland was to be submitted to the people, in which was a provision for the abolishment of slavery in that State. In this connection, it is proper to state that there was a disagreement between Walter H. Davis, Senator, a prominent anti-slavery and Republican leader of that State, and Montgomery Blair, a member of the Cabinet, which, in the President's judgment, endangered the adoption of the free State Constitution. A resolution adopted by the Baltimore Convention was: "We deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in our National councils, and we regard as worthy of confidence and official trust only those who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions." It was understood that the foregoing resolution referred to Postmaster-General Blair, who, on the passage of the resolution, placed his resignation in the hands of the President, to be used if the President considered that circumstances rendered action in that direction desirable. The President became satisfied that the cause of the Union party in Maryland would be promoted by the retirement of Mr. Blair from the Cabinet, and his resignation, which had been in the hands of the President for sometime, was formally accepted, and he was succeeded by ex-Governor William Dennison of Ohio. A short time before this change in the Cabinet, the President wrote to a convention of the friends of the new constitution in Maryland, in which he expressed his great desire for its adoption. He said: "It needs not to be a secret, and I presume it is no secret, that I wish the success of the provision for the

abolishment of slavery in your State. I desire it on every consideration. I wish to see all men free. I wish the National prosperity of the already free, which I feel the extinction of slavery would bring." The result of the election in Maryland indicated the progress and march of public opinion in the direction so much desired by the President and the friends of the Union, and this was consummated by the popular vote in the abolishment of slavery in that State, on the 8th and 9th of October, 1864. On the result being known, the President was serenaded by the Union citizens of that State then in Washington, as an expression of their satisfaction at the result. The response of the President will give, to some extent, the subject of public discussion at that time, and the President's views:

"It is regarded by some that the Chicago Convention adjourned, not *sine die*, but to meet again if called to do so by a particular individual, as the intention of a purpose that if its nominee shall be elected he will at once seize control of the Government. I hope the good people will not permit themselves to suffer any uneasiness on that account. I am struggling to maintain the Government, not to overthrow it. I am struggling specially to prevent others from overthrowing it. I therefore say that, if I live, I shall remain as President until the 4th of next March, and that whosoever shall be constitutionally elected in November shall be duly installed on the 4th of March, and in the interval I shall do my utmost that whoever is to hold the helm of State for the next voyage shall start with the best possible chance of saving the ship."

A Convention had been called in Tennessee by Andrew Johnson, who was at that time Governor, to reorganize the State in order to take part in the approaching Presidential election. The form of an oath was adopted for those who desired to vote. The oath was one that no loyal citizen would refuse to take. There was this clause in it: "I will cordially oppose all armistices and negotiations for peace with the rebels in arms until the Constitution of the United States, and all laws and proclamations made in pursuance thereof, shall be established over all the people of every State and Territory embraced within the National Union." It will, of course, be seen at once that there were many voters in Tennessee who would be unwilling to take that oath, especially those who subscribed to the Chicago platform and favored the election of McClellan. The friends of McClellan protested against this oath, and a committee was appointed to bear their protest to the President. The President did not receive the committee very graciously. He had no faith in the loyalty of any citizen who could not subscribe to the oath required. He also felt that it was a matter in which he, as President, had no right to interfere. The action of the Convention and of Governor Johnson had not been instigated or recommended by him, and he would not

interfere with any Presidential election, except to give protection against violence and intimidation.

The McClellan ticket in Tennessee was withdrawn, and still the peace party continued to charge the President with interfering in the elections, notwithstanding he had publicly refused to do so.

The [President's call for five hundred thousand men in July, which, if not raised by the 5th of September, would be drafted, was made a subject of public clamor and vituperation by the disloyal element, and even the friends of the President urged him to delay the call till after the election, as it might defeat and jeopardize the success of the Union elections. His reply was that the soldiers were needed to reinforce the armies then in the field, and that it was his duty to call for them, regardless of the consequences to himself—another instance in which the President sacrificed all personal and political considerations for the public good.

The result of the State elections gave hope and promise of success to the Union party in the approaching Presidential election. The signal failure of the Chicago Peace Convention to rally to the support of its nominees, the loyal Democrats, gave assurance of Mr. Lincoln's triumph, and the success of the Union party, and the success of our armies in the field indicated that the days of the rebel Confederacy were nearly numbered. The Presidential canvass had been conducted by the disloyal element with a bitterness and malignity against the President rarely, if ever, equaled; but the President was too deeply enthroned in the hearts of the people for their calumny to be effective. The country was so thoroughly committed to the prosecution of the war and the policy of the President for the restoration of the Union, that all attempts to destroy the faith of the people in the President, were abortive. The day of election finally came, and the results were as had been anticipated. Every State but three gave majorities for the Union candidate. Two slave States—Delaware and Kentucky—and the State of New Jersey gave their votes for McClellan. Mr. Lincoln's majority on the popular vote was 411,428, and 212 of the 233 in the Electoral College. The election was conducted with a solemnity and dignity unusual and unprecedented in the history of the country. Loyal citizens felt that the questions involved were above all party considerations, and that upon the issue was the weal or woe, the restoration or final dissolution of our National unity. The heavy burden that had been carried by the President for the past four years had been lifted from his shoulders by the people. With that solemn oath always in mind, to preserve, protect and defend the constitution, with the interests of humanity, the future of his country, and the destiny of a race, he had, weary and worn, labored in and out of season for the consummation of these great

objects, and, with a heart full of sympathy and charity toward his enemies, and with devotion to humanity, he had striven to do his duty. And now well might the President feel that relief from the responsibility that had nearly worn away his life. His policy for the National authority, and for the unity of the Republic, his Emancipation Proclamation, his plan for the reconstruction of the rebel States, had now been indorsed, and received the approval of the American people by a majority unparalleled in the history of the Nation. To a large number of his fellow-citizens who called upon him to offer their congratulations, he said: "I am thankful to God for this approval of the people, but, while deeply gratified for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my own heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph, I do not impugn the motives of anyone opposed to me. It is no pleasure for me to triumph over anyone. But I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity. This election has demonstrated that a people's Government can sustain a National election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how strong and sound we are. It also shows to the extent yet known, that we have more men now than we had when the war began. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave and patriotic men are better than gold." To a friend he said: "Being only mortal after all, I should have been a little mortified if I had been beaten in this canvass before the people, but that sting would have been compensated by the thought that the people had notified me that all my official responsibilities were soon to be lifted from my shoulders." The result of the election, giving joy, hope and assurance of ultimate success to the Union cause, demolished the last expectation and hope of the rebel Confederacy. The result showed conclusively that there would be no change in the course and policy of the Government for the suppression of the rebellion. Events were now rapidly culminating, giving the rebel leaders no hope that their final defeat and overthrow could long be averted, and still, with that indomitable persistence peculiar to all Americans, in what they believe is right, there was no giving way until the last struggle was made and the unavoidable overthrow should come. Amidst the cares of office and the excitements incident to the satisfactory results and congratulations following the election, the President found time to write and forward the following touching, sympathetic letter to a widow lady:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

"DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons, who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine, which should attempt

to be given you from a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolations that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom. Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

"TO MRS. BIXBY, Boston, Mass."

CHAPTER XLV.

MOVEMENTS OF GENERALS GRANT AND SHERMAN.

Experience had taught the administration and the American people some useful lessons relative to the rebellion, and the means and forces necessary to subdue it, in the military operations during the past three years. The idea of the Southern people that they were superior in bravery and valor to the Yankees, and that notion of the Northern citizens that two or three Union victories would bring the rebels into submission and terms, had long since been discarded. That principle of military tactics fully established that armies operating on an interior line in their own country, with their base of supplies in their rear and always at command, are equal to double their numbers of equal valor operating on an exterior line of operations, had been fully demonstrated by experience. The action of the Union armies after having given battle successfully, and then failing to follow up their successes with immediate and repeated attacks, in many instances, had often proven but little less than a defeat.

With the experience of three years of the Government to subdue and put down the rebellion, at this period these facts became vividly apparent to the administration: That if the rebellion was put down it must be done speedily; that it must be done by military force, by rapid and repeated attacks, until the rebel armies were entirely defeated. And to effect this, the Union armies must be largely in excess of numbers to the rebel forces. The military operations of 1864 were organized with these objects in view. It was a time in which all the energies and resources of the Government were brought into requisition. It was intended that such results and success should follow, that the people would be satisfied that the end of the rebellion was at hand, and that peace would follow, and the National authority would soon be established over all the rebellious States. To the grand armies organizing under Generals Grant and Sherman was the principal interest manifested by the people, and their movements became the focus of absorbing interest. Still,

there were operations of troops under other officers which should be noted. An attempt was made early in February, by a portion of the Union troops under General Gillmore in Florida, to assist the Union element in that State to reorganize under the National Government, but the attempt proved a failure at that time. General Sherman, from Vicksburg, and General Smith, from Memphis, with a heavy force of cavalry were successful in destroying railroads and supplies, and cutting off communications in the enemy's interior. General Kilpatrick made his famous raid and dash on Richmond, blowing up the locks of the Kanawha canal, destroying railroads and telegraph communications, and dashing within the defenses of the rebel capital. In March, General Bank's expedition up Red river proved a failure. In the capture of Fort Pillow in April by the rebel forces, occurred an outrage unparalleled in the history of the war. The garrison, after the surrender, composed of some three hundred colored soldiers, women and children, were butchered, and their white officers met the same fate; and this butchery was approved by the Southern papers. No historic event of modern times has a parallel of like atrocity and barbarity.

In April, General Sherman had collected his forces at Chattanooga, while directly in his front was General Johnson, with the rebel army, awaiting the movement of the Union forces. General Meade, with the Army of the Potomac, was on the banks of the Rapidan, with General Lee immediately in front. It was now apparent that the last great struggle was near at hand. The Confederacy had, by conscription and all the appliances of their absolute Government, collected in every available man for the great, and as they had reason to believe, their final effort for success. General Grant's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies met the approval of the loyal citizens. He had visited the Army of the West, and in consultation with General Sherman, all the plans of the campaign had been perfected, when he returned to Washington and assumed the general direction and movement of all the armies in the field. The administration had made every exertion to place all the men and material desired at his disposal. The confidence of the President in General Grant was fully expressed in a letter to him, in which the President said: "The particulars of your plans I neither know or seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant, and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any restraints nor constraints upon you." General Grant said, in response to Mr. Lincoln's letter: "From my first entrance into the volunteer service of my country to the present day, I never have had cause of complaint. Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked." With the

general plan of the movements of the troops and outline of the campaign the President was in full accord with General Grant, while the minor details and movements of the troops were left entirely under his direction.

The military successes of Generals Grant and Sherman in the West had given them popularity which was the outgrowth of confidence, nobly and brilliantly won, and they entered upon the great work before them, conscious of this confidence reposed in them by the armies under their commands, and by Union citizens and the administration. Encouraged and strengthened by this trust and confidence, they were determined that those expectations should not be disappointed. Every preparation having been made, the Army of the Potomac, under the immediate command of General Meade, but directed by General Grant, on the 3d day of May broke up camp, crossed the Rapidan and commenced its march toward Richmond on the right of General Lee's positions. The crossing of the river was effected without opposition, and on Wednesday following commenced the battles of the Wilderness. The fighting of this first day was prolonged until late in the evening with no material or decisive results, except that the Union army had successfully established itself firmly on the right of General Lee's position and was in position to assume the offensive on the morrow. A general advance was ordered by General Grant at daylight, in which both armies were actively engaged. The battle raged during the day along the whole line, with varied success on both sides, and only closed on the approach of darkness. The loss on the Union side during the two days' fighting, killed and wounded, was near 15,000 men, while that of the rebels was not less. General Grant was able to hold his position at the close of the day. On Saturday, there was some fighting in the morning in front, but it was soon apparent that General Lee was falling back to Spottsylvania Court-house, for which place General Grant at once pushed his whole army. On Sunday, General Grant had massed the Union army in the vicinity of Spottsylvania Court-house, and found that the enemy was there in position. Considerable fighting had taken place, and Fredericksburg, a new base for supplies, had been taken and occupied by the Union army on Sunday night. On Monday, the 9th, the armies were confronting each other, and on that day and Tuesday the fighting was renewed, and was continued on Thursday. The result of that day was a brilliant success for the Union armies. A dispatch to Secretary Stanton from General Grant, says: "The eighth day of battles closes, leaving between three thousand and four thousand prisoners in our hands, two Generals and over thirty pieces of artillery." The enemy fell back and fortified. After the successes of the 13th the armies remained inactive several days. The Union army receiving reinforcements and supplies, sending the sick and

wounded to the hospitals at Washington and the rebel prisoners to the prison depots. On the 20th General Grant ordered a new flank movement to the right of the enemy's position, and this flank movement was continued with success until the Union army reached and crossed the Pamunky, with the White House as a base of supplies. General Lee, with the rebel army, followed on an interior line, and again confronted General Grant in his position. Here a series of battles occurred, General Grant endeavoring to force Lee back from his positions, but after several attempts he found the enemy too strongly posted and too well supported for his positions to be taken by assault. Previous to this time, General Butler, from Fortress Monroe, with a large force, had ascended James river, taken City Point and fortified and held Bermuda Hundred. This was a very important and strategic movement in the plan of General Grant's campaign. In the meantime, General Sheridan's cavalry raid, in rear of the enemy's forces from Spottsylvania, was an expedition bold in its conception, successful in its results, while our army was receiving all needful supplies. The supplies of the enemy were destroyed by General Sheridan, and their railroad communication were cut and so impeded that their position became daily more precarious and supplies were more difficult to obtain. General Grant, finding the enemy too strong in front, conceived and carried out his favorite strategic movement, which was so successful at Vicksburg, and that was to plant his army on the enemy's communications by railroads in the rear of Richmond, and hold the rebel army there until their supplies were exhausted, or compel them to come out of their intrenchments and give the Union army battle on equal terms, which he so much desired. On the night of the 12th of June, after every preparation had been made, the army commenced its flank movement for James river. The movement was entirely successful and a surprise to the enemy, who were unable to offer any resistance; and on Tuesday night the Union army had crossed the James river and taken position south of Richmond. It was General Grant's aim, after crossing the Rapidan, if possible, to bring on a decisive action and crush General Lee's army before reaching Richmond; but, from the character of the country, its unusual facilities for defense, and the skill of the rebel General, this desirable object could not be effected.

A series of victories and advantages had been gained, and in a campaign of forty days the enemy had been forced back from the Rapidan to Richmond, but no decisive results had been obtained. Heavy losses had been sustained by the Union army, while the rebels had suffered severely. General Grant had now placed his army under his immediate command, in a position where he could hold the rebel army under Lee in Richmond, while he would strike at the life of the rebellion in other parts of the rebel Confederacy. While Grant was holding Lee in Richmond, it was evident that the rebel General

had but few men to spare to assist his subordinates in other parts of the Confederacy.

On the 2d day of May, simultaneous with General Grant's movement for Richmond, General Sherman sent his army in advance from Chattanooga, the objective point being Atlanta. His army consisted of three corps commanded by Generals Thomas, McPherson and Schofield, numbering 98,797 men and 254 guns. In this march of General Sherman's similar obstacles were to be overcome, as in the advance on Richmond, with this additional difficulty, that each day's advance carried the army still further from its base of supplies to which the avenues must be kept open, while the enemy had the advantage of positions, and a thorough knowledge of the field of operations, and an interior line of communications for supplies and reinforcements. The object of this campaign was brilliant in conception, hazardous in its execution and grand and successful in its results. General Sherman, in his advance, adopted the tactics of feeling his enemy in front, and if too strongly posted to move on his flank; and, thus fighting and flanking from day to day, he drove Johnson from Ringold, Buzzards Roost, Resaca, Kensaw Mountain, Dalton to Atlanta. A series of battles had been fought during this advance, and, in all, the advantage remained with the Union forces. On the approach of the Union army to Atlanta, Johnson was superseded in command of the rebel army by General Hood, who at once assumed the offensive. Hood's first attack on the Union lines was on the 22d day of July. He was repulsed with a loss of eight thousand men. On the 28th and 31st, General Hood renewed his attacks and was repulsed and defeated, in the three engagements having lost half his army. He then retreated behind the defenses of Atlanta. Here, within the defenses, the rebel army remained a month besieged, while General Sherman was destroying the railroads in different directions leading from Atlanta. General Hood, finding he could not escape from the net that was being woven, evacuated the town, and Atlanta was occupied by General Sherman and his victorious army September 2d. General Hood then set out to destroy Sherman's communications, but being defeated at every point, he started on a grand march for Nashville, hoping to retrieve his losses and disgrace. General Sherman sent back to General Thomas, who was in command there, a portion of his army and material of war, and then made preparation for finishing up his march through Georgia.

CHAPTER XLVI.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS—CLOSE OF 1864.

During the year 1864, several changes occurred in the Cabinet. At the close of the fiscal year, June 30th, Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, tendered the resignation of his office to the President, which was accepted. The office had been administered with distinguished ability and success by Mr. Chase, and the resignation was unexpected. The immediate cause was said to have been a conflict of opinion between the Secretary and the President relative to appointments in Mr. Chase's department, but without doubt there were personal causes growing out of Mr. Chase's aspirations for the Presidency. The President tendered the appointment, to fill the vacancy, to Ex-Governor Todd of Ohio, who declined the honor, when the President named W. P. Fessenden of Maine, a member of the United States Senate, and Chairman of its Finance Committee, who reluctantly consented to accept, after much personal solicitation by the President.

Mr. Fessenden, who had given a cordial support to the financial measures of Secretary Chase, upon entering on his new office pursued the policy of his predecessor with much judgment and discretion. In giving notice to the public of the readiness of the Treasury Department to receive subscriptions to a new issue of 300,000,000 of seven-thirties convertible into bonds, he said to the people of the United States: "The circumstances under which this loan is asked for and your aid invoked, though differing widely from the existing state of affairs three years ago, are such as afford equal encouragement and security. Time, while proving that the struggle for National unity was to exceed in duration and severity our worst anticipations, has tested the National strength and National resources an extent alike unexpected and remarkable, exciting equal astonishment at home and abroad. Three years of war have burdened you with a debt which but three years since would have seemed beyond your ability to meet. Yet the accumulated wealth and productive energies of the Nation have proved to be so vast that it was borne with comparative ease, and a peaceful future would hardly feel its weight.

As a price paid for National existence and the preservation of free institutions, it does not deserve a moment's consideration. Thus far the war has been supported and carried on as it only could have been—by a people resolved, at whatever cost of blood and treasure, to transmit unimpaired to posterity the system of free Government bequeathed to them by the great men who framed it. This deliberate and patriotic resolve has developed a power surprising even to themselves. It has shown that in less than a century a nation has arisen unsurpassed in vigor and exhaustless in resources, able to conduct through a series of years a war on its most gigantic scale, and finding itself, when near its close, almost unimpaired in all the material elements of power. It has at the present moment great armies in the field facing an enemy apparently approaching a period of utter exhaustion, but still struggling with a force, the greater and more desperate as it seems, and because it sees the near approach of a final and fatal consummation."

In December, Attorney-General Edward Bates of Missouri resigned his office in the Cabinet, and was succeeded by James Speed of Kentucky.

An important vacancy occurred in the United States Supreme Court by the death, on the 12th day of October, of Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice. The friends of Mr. Chase, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, at once urged that the appointment of Mr. Chase would be eminently proper, and that he possessed in a high degree qualifications for that important office. There was much antagonism to the appointment, and the President in this case, as was his usual custom, was ready and willing to hear all the arguments for and against the appointment, which he had from the first decided to make. Those who tried to influence and arouse the prejudices of the President against the appointment, by urging that Mr. Chase had used the patronage of his department to advance his own aspirations for the Presidency, vexed him, because it intimated that he could be influenced by personal and selfish motives. To a friend he said that there were two considerations that would control him in the appointment—first, the man appointed must be an anti-slavery man from principle; and second, he must thoroughly understand the financial policy of the Government. Those principles being possessed by Mr. Chase in an eminent degree, his appointment was sent into the Senate on the second day of the session, and was unanimously confirmed by that body.

The President's message at the meeting of Congress, in December, 1864, was an able, interesting, business, State paper. The condition of our foreign relations was stated as being reasonably satisfactory. After briefly reviewing the financial and other department reports, the President passed to the presentation of his views on the leading question of the domestic interests, in relation to the war and the continuance of slavery in the country. Said he: "Important movements have occurred during the year to the effect of

moulding society for the durability of the Union, and although short of complete success, are much in the right direction. That twelve thousand citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State Governments with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. The movement in the same direction, more extensive though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, should not be overlooked. But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to liberty and Union for all the future. The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit driven out it may seek to tear her, but it will woo her no more.

“At the last session of Congress a proposed amendment of the constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for the lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. The present is the same Congress, and the members are nearly the same, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in the opposition, I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session.” The President then noted the fact that, notwithstanding the drain and losses by the war on the voting population, that in twenty-four loyal and border States the increase in the vote, during the three and a half years of the war, was 145,751, demonstrating the fact that we have more men now than when the war began.

Of the position of the Government toward the rebellion, the President said: “Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever. The National resources then are unexhausted and, as we believe, inexhaustible. The public purpose to re-establish and maintain the National authority is unchanged and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains as chosen. After a careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader would result in any good. He would not accept of anything short of the severance of the Union. His declarations to this effect are explicit and often repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. We cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten. If the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it will be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who leads the insurgent cause is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot so accept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase. They can at any moment have peace; simply by laying down their arms and submitting to the

National authority under the constitution. After so much, the Government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts and votes. The way is still open to all, but the time may come, probably will come, when public duty shall demand that it be closed, and that in lieu, more vigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted. In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the National authority on the part of the insurgents, as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the Government, I retract nothing as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, and that while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation. Nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any acts of Congress. If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another—not I—must be their instrument to perform it. In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say that the war will cease on the part of the Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.”

We can appropriately close this chapter with the following proclamation issued by President Lincoln for a day of National thanksgiving, to be observed November 24, 1864: “It has pleased Almighty God to prolong our National life another year, defending us with His guardian care against unfriendly designs from abroad, and vouchsafed to us in His mercy, many and signal victories over the enemy, who is of our own household. It has pleased our Heavenly Father to favor as well our citizens in their homes as our soldiers in their camps and our sailors on the rivers and seas, with unusual health. He has largely augmented our free population by emancipation and by emigration, while He has opened to us new sources of wealth, and has crowned the labor of our working men in every department of industry with abundant reward. Moreover, He has been pleased to animate and inspire our minds and hearts with fortitude, courage and resolution sufficient for the great trial of civil war, into which we have been brought by our adherence, as a Nation, to the cause of freedom and humanity, and to afford to us reasonable hopes of an ultimate and happy deliverance from all our dangers and afflictions.

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby appoint and set apart the last Thursday in November next as a day which I desire to be observed by all my fellow-citizens, wherever they may be, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God, the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the Universe; and I do further recommend to my fellow-citizens aforesaid, that on that occasion they do reverently humble themselves in the dust, and from thence offer up penitent and fervent prayers and

supplications to the Great Disposer of events for a return of the inestimable blessings of peace, union and harmony throughout the land which it has pleased Him to assign as a dwelling place for ourselves and our posterity throughout all generations."

While our good President was using all the means and appliances that a loyal people were placing in his hands for the restoration of the Union, and the subjugation to the National authority of those who were in arms against it, how fervently does he call upon his fellow-citizens for their prayers and supplications to the Great Giver of all our blessings for a return of "peace, union and harmony," in our land, carrying with these invocations a spirit of Christian love and brotherhood, which would gladly receive the return of the misled, misguided and erring members of the Union, in that spirit of forgiveness and charity, which would make the reunion again a blessing to all and reunite in bonds of fraternal unity and affection never again to be severed, a brotherhood of States; which would make our Nation wonderful in its resources and advancements to a higher civilization, and the admiration of the world—a refuge for the down-trodden and oppressed of every land—a people honored and respected at home and abroad, and a dwelling place to be desired "for ourselves and our posterity throughout all generations."

CHAPTER XLVII.

SHERIDAN'S VICTORIES—SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA—DEFEAT OF HOOD.

Simultaneously with the news of the evacuation of Atlanta by the rebel forces, came the pleasing intelligence of the brilliant operations of Commodore Farragut's fleet in the capture of the important fortresses at the entrance to Mobile bay.

In August, 1864, General Sheridan was appointed to the command of the middle division of the department, including the protection of Washington and Northern Virginia. His operations up to the 15th of September were confined to strengthen and protect the line of the Potomac. On the 18th the offensive was taken, which resulted on the 19th in an attack of the Union forces on General Early's army at Opequan Creek, which terminated, after a stubborn resistance by the rebels, in their complete defeat, and in their retreat to Winchester, from which place they were forced back to Fisher's Hill. Here the rebel forces were again assailed by the Union troops, and after a sharp engagement the rebels were routed with great loss, and darkness alone saved Early's army from total defeat and destruction. In those engagements Sheridan captured, on the field, twenty-five hundred prisoners, and in the hospitals at Winchester he found two thousand wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners exceeded six thousand. The Union loss was forty-five hundred.

Sheridan followed up his successes until he entered Staunton, on the 26th, where a large amount of stores and supplies for the rebel army had been collected; these were taken and destroyed. From this point, General Sheridan fell back to Strasburg, covering the approaches to Winchester and the Manassas railroad to Port Royal. On the 15th of October, General Sheridan was called to Washington on important business, leaving General Wright in command. General Early, having received re-enforcements, first made his appearance in the vicinity of the Union army on the 17th, and a body of his infantry and cavalry made some demonstration on the right of the Union forces. On the morning of the 19th the rebels renewed the attack, under

cover of a heavy fog, and advanced in force on the center and right of the Union army. The attack was a surprise; the center was forced back with the left; a part of the artillery of the 19th corps was captured, which was turned upon the Union forces. The 6th corps was changed from its position to cover the retreat of the other corps. Meanwhile the enemy were steadily following up their successes. They had gained and taken possession of the camps and position, which were occupied in the morning by the Union forces. Affairs were in this condition when General Sheridan arrived at Winchester from Washington. Fugitives from the Union army first gave him notice of the Union disaster, at 10 A. M. At 11 A. M. he arrived on the battlefield, having rode sixteen miles in forty minutes. As he met the Union forces on retreat, he waved his hat and said: "Turn about, boys, we are going to our camps; if I had been here this would not have happened." He at once applied his whole energies to change the results of the morning. He quietly united the different corps and formed a strong line of battle, just in time to repulse an attack of the enemy, which was followed up with an advance of the whole line, routing and driving the rebels, and capturing forty-three pieces of artillery and many prisoners. The victory was complete—night intervened, which prevented greater results.

The successes of the Union army were followed up, and on the 21st, General Sheridan, in his third report, completes the narrative of Early's signal and finished defeat. This ended the last rebel attempt to invade the free States by the Shenandoah valley. Sheridan ended his campaign in forty days. His loss was sixteen thousand. During the campaign, Early's loss was, killed and wounded, ten thousand; prisoners, thirteen thousand. It may be stated that his army was, in efficiency and effect, entirely destroyed. For energy and rapidity this campaign of Sheridan's was the most brilliant and efficacious of the war.

On the 22d of October, President Lincoln addressed a letter of congratulation to General Sheridan, and said: "With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the Nation, and my own personal admiration and gratitude, for the month's operations in the Shenandoah valley, and especially for the splendid work of October 19th." These successful and brilliant victories in the Shenandoah valley were but a part of the plan which General Grant was directing from his tent, on the bank of James river. It was the policy of the Commander-in-Chief, while holding the main army of the rebellion firmly in Richmond, to take advantage of this restraint by operating vigorously by his Lieutenants in other portions of the Rebel Confederacy. It was desirable to capture Richmond, but the delay only augmented the certainty of final success, and insured the successful movements

in distant quarters, which were gradually undermining the life of the rebellion and destroying its military and commercial resources. During this period General Grant had, step by step, pushed his lines of circumvallation steadily westward, closing the rebels' communications by the Weldon railroad, and gaining a position by which he could seriously threaten the Southside railroad.

On the 9th of November, General Sherman issued his orders for a new military campaign through Georgia, the objective point being Savannah, as a new base on the seaboard. Having given instructions relative to the march, General Sherman assembled his forces at Atlanta. He sent the sick, wounded and surplus stores to Chattanooga, and then dismantled the railroad to that point. He then destroyed all the storehouses, depot buildings and machine shops, and all public property which might be made available by the rebels for the purposes of war. He put his army in motion in two divisions, the right wing, under General Howard, left Atlanta on the 12th of November, followed on the 14th by the left, under General Slocum. The divisions marched on parallel lines following the two railroads that traversed the State. The most strenuous efforts were made by the rebels to check the march of the Union army, but the efforts were fruitless and of no avail.

On the 22d of November, General Slocum's division reached Milledgeville in seven days from Atlanta—ninety-five miles. Here the army remained three days. Large numbers of horses and mules, and large quantities of provisions of various kinds were obtained on the march, and the army fared sumptuously every day. During the march the cavalry roamed throughout the adjacent counties, destroying the railroads in every direction, meeting with no serious resistance. From Milledgeville, the armies moved to Millen, a distance of seventy-five miles, in eight days. The object in the moderate movements of the army was to give time to destroy the railroads in every direction. From Millen to Savannah, seventy-nine miles, General Sherman made rapid marches, reaching, on the 9th of December, the canal which connects the Ogeechee with Savannah river at a point ten miles west of the city. Communications were immediately opened with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet in Port Royal harbor, in which General Howard said :

"SIR—We have met with perfect success thus far. The troops are in fine spirits and near by. Respectfully,

A. O. HOWARD,

Major-General, commanding right wing of the Army."

This was the first intelligence direct from Sherman's army, and it completely dispelled all fears and doubts as to the complete success of the campaign. On the 10th, General Sherman advanced to within five miles of Savannah, and immediately made preparations for the capture of Fort McAllister, which was the key to the city from the interior. Accordingly a

division of the 15th corps, under General Hazen, was sent forward on the 13th, and the fort was taken by an assault and surrendered, with its entire garrison and stores. The Union loss was ninety, killed and wounded.

General Sherman, with his army, was twenty-seven days marching from Atlanta to Savannah. The distance was over three hundred miles. His loss during the famous march in the entire command was sixty-three officers and men killed, three hundred and forty-five officers and men wounded and two hundred and fifty-nine men missing. On the 14th of December, the city was closely invested, and General Sherman was in full communication with the fleet under Admiral Dahlgren, who was prepared to bring all his available force to operate in connection with the army. General Hardee, the rebel commander in the city, anticipating an assault, and feeling confident that it could not be successfully resisted, after burning the navy-yard, and blowing up the rebel ironclad vessels on the morning of the 20th, with the main body of his forces, escaped from the city by crossing the river to the causeway and marched towards Charleston on the causeway road. On the morning of the 21st, the city was occupied by a division of the Union army, and the captures included eight hundred prisoners, one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, thirteen locomotives, one hundred and ninety cars, three steamers, thirty thousand bales of cotton and a large quantity of ammunition and other material of war. On the 22d, General Sherman sent the following message to the President:

“SAVANNAH, Ga., December 22, 1864.

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT LINCOLN—I beg leave to present to you as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.”

The President returned thanks for the gift, but more particularly to the General and his brave soldiers and officers for their operations in obtaining and securing the gift.

At a meeting of the citizens of Savannah, called by the Mayor, the 27th of December, to take into consideration matters pertaining to the present and future welfare of the city, it was largely attended, and the following resolution, with others, was adopted: “That we accept the situation, and in the language of the President of the United States, seek to have peace by laying down our arms and submitting to the National authority under the constitution.”

General Grant wrote to Sherman December 18th: “I congratulate you and the brave officers and men under your command on the successful termination of your most brilliant campaign. I never had a doubt of the result. When apprehensions for your safety were expressed by the President, I

assured him that with the army you had, and with you in command of it, there was no danger that you would reach salt water in some place. But I should not have felt the same security—in fact I would not have intrusted the expedition to any other living commander.”

We now turn to the rebel operations in Tennessee. General Hood, after being forced by General Sherman back from the Union army's line of communications from Chattanooga to Atlanta, prepared for his advance into Tennessee in accordance with instructions, and with the intention, as announced by Jefferson Davis, of inflicting a serious blow, which would aid the rebel cause. It was several weeks before Hood began his advance, when General Thomas withdrew his forces to Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville. General Schofield was in command at Franklin, his forces consisting of General Stanley's 4th and General Cases 23d corps, and a few regiments recently mustered into the service. On the 30th of November, General Schofield occupied Franklin and formed his line of battle, both flanks resting on the Harpeth river. The rebels moved to the attack at 4 p. m. The first assault was made on Wagner's brigades, who maintained the contest until they were overpowered and fell back in confusion, losing eight guns. The center line was broken, and ruin seemed certain, when General Opdyke, commanding the first brigade of Wagner's division within the works, seeing what was taking place, without orders from his superior, gave the order to his command, "First brigade, forward to the works," he leading his brigade. He forced the rebels back and restored the Union line. On the day after the battle, General Stanley wrote to General Thomas, stating that the charge of Opdyke with his brigade saved the army from a serious defeat. The rebels made four distinct attacks to regain their advantage, but Opdyke held his position, and they were repulsed with fearful slaughter. They continued their attempts until midnight, when Schofield withdrew the Union forces. The Confederate loss was estimated at six thousand, among them Generals Cleburn, Gist, Adams, Stahl and Granbury were killed; Brown, Carter, Maingault, Quarles, Cockeral and Scott were wounded and Gordon captured. The Union loss was twenty-three hundred. The battle at Franklin was a most important one in securing victory to the Union forces in Tennessee. On the night after the battle, General Schofield withdrew his forces within the defenses of Nashville. The enemy followed and planted their troops within sight of the city, throwing up a line of intrenchments, extending on each flank to the Cumberland river. For two weeks both armies stood confronting each other. The weather soon became intensely cold, and Hood's army suffered much in consequence. At length, on the 15th of December, General Thomas assumed the offensive and commenced a series of attacks on the

enemy, which were followed up for two successive days without cessation, and resulted in the disastrous defeat of the Confederate army. Their line of defense hopelessly broken, they fled in confusion through Brentwood Pass, pursued by the 4th corps. This was continued until darkness prevented further pursuit. The retreat of the rebels continued beyond the Tennessee river. The pursuit was followed up by the Union forces until the 25th of December, when General Thomas ordered the pursuit to cease. The results of the Tennessee campaign were summed up and reported. The Union loss in killed and wounded, sixty-one hundred, and eight hundred missing. The rebel loss, twenty thousand killed, wounded and prisoners, and sixty-eight pieces of artillery captured. This statement would imply a loss of one-half of Hood's army, mustered for the invasion of Tennessee. The close of the year found Tennessee freed from the presence of a rebel army, and the invasion from which so much had been expected by the enemy turned into a disastrous flight. The retreat of Hood into Mississippi was followed by his removal from his command at his own request. For the first time in the war a great rebel army had been annihilated. General Grant might well say, "Thomas has done magnificently." This was his habit. He never lost a battle. He saved the Union army at Chickamauga. He was said to be slow. The rebels thought he was very sure.

During the first six months preceding January 1, 1865, the success of the Union arms in all directions had inspired hope and confidence, amounting to almost a certainty, that the days of the rebellion were nearly numbered. Grant had planted his army in the rear of Richmond, and held Lee and his army with a grip that could not be broken. Sheridan had destroyed Early's army in the valley of the Shenandoah. Sherman had made his victorious march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and from there to Savannah. Thomas had defeated Hood and sent him back to Mississippi, with the loss of half of his army, and the remainder of his forces utterly demoralized. Price had been routed, defeated and driven out of Missouri. General Canby was operating for the capture of Mobile, and the ports of Charleston, Savannah and Mobile were efficiently closed against the introduction of supplies for the Confederacy.

In the Confederacy, were discontent, discord, and a despairing call for help which could not be misunderstood. In their despair they were ready to call upon the negroes for help. The commanding General demanded this measure as seemingly the only recourse for the salvation of the Confederacy. It was a mournful call, a call to the slaves to rivet again the chains which had been broken. But the call for help was like the call of one in despair with no help at hand.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PASSAGE OF THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT—ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

The most important measure passed by Congress at its thirty-eighth session, or at any previous session, was the passage of the amendment to the constitution abolishing slavery in all the States, by the decisive vote of one hundred and nineteen to fifty-six. This bill, it will be remembered, passed the Senate at the previous session, but failed to receive the requisite two-thirds vote in the House. At the meeting of Congress in December, the President, in his message to that body, had recommended and urged its passage during the session. The bill was as follows:

“Be it resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intent and purposes as a part of said constitution, namely:

“Article XIII, Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

“Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

In the House, January 6, 1865, Mr. Ashley of Ohio called up for debate and legislative action the foregoing constitutional amendment, the motion being on its reconsideration. The debate was opened by Mr. Ashley of Ohio, and was continued through the sessions of the House on January 6th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 26th, by the following members: Hons. Orth of Indiana, Schofield, Thayer and Stevens of Pennsylvania, Cole and Higby of California, Yeaman, Cravens and Smith of Kentucky, Morrell and Woodbridge of Vermont, Odell, Morris and Herrick of New York, Kasson and Grinnell of Iowa, Farnsworth of Illinois, Smithers of Delaware, Jenckes of

Rhode Island, Rollins of Missouri, Garfield of Ohio, Baldwin of Massachusetts, Star of New Jersey and Patterson of New Hampshire, in favor of the amendment, and by Hons. Brooks, Chanier, Ward, Clay and Wood of New York, Bliss, Cox, Pendleton and Fink of Ohio, Mallory of Kentucky, Voorhees and Cravens of Indiana, Eldridge of Wisconsin, King of Missouri, White of Ohio and Holman of Indiana, against the amendment. The debates elicited much public interest; the galleries of the House were crowded daily, and much solicitude was manifested as to the final result. At the close of the debate on the 28th, Mr. Ashley gave notice that the previous question on the amendment would be called and pressed to a vote at 3 o'clock p. m., the 31st. The House met at 12 m. on that day, and after disposing of the regular business, the Speaker stated the question in order was the consideration of the motion to reconsider the vote by which the House, on the 14th of last June, rejected Senate joint resolution No. 16, submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Ashley, who was entitled to the floor, gave way to Messrs. McAllister and Coffroth of Pennsylvania, and Herrick of New York, for them to give their reasons for changing their votes. The debate was further continued by Messrs. Brown of Wisconsin and Kalbflesch of New York in opposition to the amendment. Mr. Ashley says: "Mr. Speaker, I call the previous question on the motion to reconsider." Mr. Stiles said: "Mr. Speaker, I move to lay the motion on the table." The ayes and noes were ordered. The question was put, and was decided in the negative; ayes, 57; noes, 111. So the motion to reconsider was not laid on the table. The previous question was seconded and the main question ordered. The question being on the motion of Mr. Ashley to reconsider, the ayes and noes were ordered. The question was put and it was decided in the affirmative; ayes, 112; noes, 57. So the motion to reconsider was agreed to. The question now was on the passage of the joint resolution. Mr. Ashley said: "I now demand the previous question."

Mr. Mallory of Kentucky—Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order. My point of order is, that a motion to reconsider the vote by which the subject now before the House which was disposed of in June last requires a vote of two-thirds of this body. The two-thirds vote has not been obtained.

The Speaker—The Chair overrules the point of order. The rules of the House authorize every bill and joint resolution to pass by a majority vote. The Constitution of the United States, however, declares that no constitutional amendment shall pass except by a two-thirds vote; on the question of the passage of the joint resolution the constitutional provision will operate, and not till then. All other questions are governed by the rules of the House.

Mr. Brown of Wisconsin—I ask the gentleman from Ohio to yield to me to offer a substitute for the joint resolution.

Mr. Ashley—I cannot yield for that purpose. I have a substitute myself which I should much prefer to the original resolution, but I do not offer it.

Mr. Speaker—No motion to amend would be in order at this stage. The joint resolution has passed its third reading and is now on its passage, the previous question was seconded and the main question ordered, which was on the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. Dawson called for the ayes and noes, and they were ordered. The question was taken and it was decided in the affirmative; ayes, 119; noes, 56. So two-thirds of the members of the House, required by the Constitution of the United States, having voted in favor thereof, the joint resolution was passed.

It was the privilege of the writer to be present at the Capitol during the debates on the joint resolutions, and an interested spectator on the day of their passage. It was a day, the most eventful and remarkable in Congressional legislation that has occurred in the history of our Republic, and the interest and enthusiasm of the members of the House and the spectators on that day were in unison and harmony with the important and interesting issues involved.

During the roll-call, when Messrs. Coffroth, English, Ganson, Herrick, McAllister and Odell, Union Democrats, who had previously voted against the joint resolutions, voted “aye,” the applause in the galleries and on the Republican side of the House was vociferous and could not be restrained. The Speaker used his gavel and repeatedly called to order, and asked that members should set a better example to the spectators in the galleries. Mr. Kalbflesch and other Democratic members remarked that the applause came not so much from the spectators in the galleries, but from members on the floor. The Speaker said: “Members will take their seats and observe order.” The Speaker directed the clerk to call his name as a member of the House. The clerk called the name of Schuyler Colfax, and Mr. Colfax voted “aye.” This incident was greeted with renewed applause. The Speaker then said: “The constitutional majority of two-thirds having voted in the affirmative, the joint resolution is passed.” This announcement was received by the House and by the spectators with an outburst of excitement and enthusiasm such as never before had been exhibited in the halls of Congress. The members on the Republican side of the House instantly sprang to their feet, and, regardless of parliamentary rules and decorum, applauded with cheering and clapping of hands. Members embraced,

hugged and kissed each other, others wept for joy; hand-shaking and congratulations were general. Nor were the galleries, which were crowded to their utmost capacity, slow to follow the example. The male spectators seemed to vie with members in their demonstrations. They waved their hats, and cheered loud and long; while the ladies, hundreds of whom were present, waved their handkerchiefs, participating in and adding to the general excitement and intense interest of the extraordinary scene. A feeble attempt was made by the Speaker to restore order, but the attempt was like stemming the resistless torrent or the sweeping tornado. Finding the attempt to restore order fruitless, he seated himself in his chair, and with a look of complacency and serenity, folded his arms and surveyed the scene, realizing the fact that his authority for the present was at an end. Many of the Democratic members sat in their seats and looked on with a gravity and solemnity which plainly indicated that they had no pleasure in this joyous and festive scene. Twenty minutes intervened before order was fully restored. Then Mr. Ingersoll of Illinois said: "Mr. Speaker, in honor of this immortal and sublime event, I move that the House do now adjourn." The Speaker declared the motion carried, and again the cheering and demonstration of applause were renewed. The excitement of the occasion had hardly subsided in the House before it was taken up in the streets and public buildings in Washington. Men shouted, cheered and sang, and did many silly things in their exuberance of joy. From the fortifications around Washington the monster guns pealed forth their loud and joyous sounds, reverberating down the Potomac, and taken up from post to post, until the glad echoes thrilled the hearts of the brave defenders of the Union before Richmond and sent consternation into the heart of the rebel Confederacy.

The thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States passed the House of Representatives January 31, 1865, was enrolled and signed by the Speaker of the House. It was transmitted to the Senate February 1st, signed by the Vice-President, and then sent to the President by whom it was approved and signed the same day. It was ratified by the States of Illinois and Maryland the same day, and subsequently by all the States, except Delaware and Kentucky, and was declared to be in force December 18, 1865. No citizen of the Union had more reason to rejoice on the passage of the said joint resolutions than President Lincoln. The event gave him great satisfaction and pleasure, and he embraced the opportunity to express his gratification to his friends and the public who had gathered around the Executive Mansion immediately after its adoption. To the large audience who had assembled, he said:

"This settlement of the slavery question by the representatives of the

people, appears to me, to be the adjustment, the final disposition of the controversy which has been the cause of all our troubles and difficulties. It has finished up, completed and verified the work and purposes of the emancipation proclamation. It will remove the principal difficulty in the reunion of our Republic, and the re-establishment of fraternal relations with all of our citizens, which, I trust, will become firm and unrevocable. The amendment now requires to be adopted by the votes of the Legislatures of the several States, and I trust that many of my auditors will, on their return home, see that this work is speedily and faithfully accomplished."

CHAPTER XLIX.

SIMPLICITY, CHARITY AND EQUANIMITY.

The citizens of the Republic had not far to look for those elements of character which awakened instinctively in the minds of the people their love, veneration and sympathy for President Lincoln. One of those natural and peculiar traits of character which was the most observed and noted at the White House, was the President's plainness and simplicity, and absence of all ostentation and display of any kind. A New York correspondent writes: "We remember rather the ineffable tenderness which shone through his tender eyes, his childlike ingeniousness, his utter integrity and his love of country. Ignorant of etiquette and conventionalities, without the graces of form or manner, his great reluctance to give pain, his beautiful regard for the failings of others, made him worthy to bear, without reproach, the grand old name of gentleman; strong without symmetry, humorous without levity, religious without cant; tender, merciful, forgiving, a profound believer in divine love, an earnest worker for human brotherhood."

Western friends, who called at the White House, expected to see plain Abraham Lincoln, but they were surprised to find the same, unassuming, modest man that he was in private life, when in their midst he was striving for success and distinction in his profession. On all occasions it gave him much pleasure to meet the friends of his youthful days, and they always received a pleasant and cordial welcome. It was a pleasure and a privilege which the writer enjoyed to visit Washington in December, 1864, and spend three months at the National capital, and to renew with Mr. Lincoln the acquaintance and friendship of former years. A narrative of the first interview of the writer with the President illustrates the preceding characteristics of the President: On the second day after my arrival in Washington, in company with Representative C. Cole, we called at the Executive Mansion and sent in our cards to the President. The messenger soon returned with a card to me from the President, saying: "The Cabinet have a meeting to-day. I shall be pleased to see you to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock." The

next morning, at the time appointed, I repaired to the ante-room adjoining the President's office, where I observed several Senators and others in waiting. As the clock indicated the appointed hour, I handed the door-keeper the President's card, and was immediately ushered into the reception-room. As I entered, the President was seated at his table. He immediately arose and met me near the middle of the room. Extending his hand, he said: "I am very glad to see you, Charles," using the familiar name by which he always called me in former days; "you have changed but little since last we met. A few gray hairs I see." I replied: "It certainly gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to meet and take you by the hand after an absence of so many years, and I regret to observe that the labors and responsibilities of your high office have worn much on your physical appearance and constitution." He replied, after asking me to be seated: "Since the people called me to the position I now occupy, four years ago, I cannot recall a day devoid of care and anxiety. While the physical labors during that period have been beyond description, the mental excitements, responsibilities and hopes, followed by disappointments, have worn me away as you see me to-day. But," said he, with a smile of pleasure as it lightened up the care-worn face, "I see now much to hope for the future; the people have, by their votes, approved, thus far, my administration and policy, and the positions of Generals Grant and Sherman with their armies, give assurance that the days of the rebellion are drawing to a close." I replied: "Mr. President, it is a gratification and pleasure to your friends that your policy has been approved; and they and the people hope and rejoice with you in the bright prospects of the near future." Our conversation then drifted back to the days of our intimate and early associations in the log store and log cabins of the then far West, when youth was buoyant and the burdens of life were light and expectations reached out but a short distance in the future. After half an hour's conversation I arose and said: "Mr. President, I must bring this pleasant interview to a close, as I observed, as I came in, a number of dignitaries in the ante-room awaiting an audience." He arose and took me by the hand, and said: "This half-hour's interview and conversation has been very pleasant to me. I shall feel better all day for it. You will come again. I shall be glad to see you at any time when not engaged, and in our interviews you will please call me Lincoln as in former days." As I left the President his words, "Please call me Lincoln," carried me back in my thoughts to that period thirty years previous, when the President, then an humble, obscure youth, was struggling in a new country, with poverty and difficulties apparently almost insurmountable, for place and position in his adopted State. He was then and there called Lincoln, by his friends and neighbors, and there, in the Prairie State, where he had risen to emi-

nence and public favor, he was still called by that familiar name. But his life had been changed, he had been called by the people to an office, the highest in the gift of the people for the government of the people, and the proprieties of his position were new and novel to him. In this new relation with and toward the people, his elevation disclosed no evidence that he was elated by his high position, and we can reasonably infer that the great and momentous responsibilities which he had assumed and under which he labored, tended rather to lessen than increase his sense of his own importance. It was clearly manifest to all his old friends that his sincerity, simplicity and tenderness still remained. Persons who entered the Executive Mansion, impressed with a sense of the high honors and dignified station appropriately belonging to the President, found no barriers interposed between himself and those who thus honored him, and who came to him with their wants and applications for favors or redress. Those who had enjoyed his friendship and acquaintance in former years, found him the same kind, generous, true-hearted friend that he was in private life. Those rare and unusual traits of character, which were so noted in the life of the President while in the White House, were so pure, so unselfish, and so rich in loveliness of spirit, soon became to be honored and appreciated by all, knowing that they came from a heart overflowing with love and kindness to all, irrespective of wealth or position. In a subsequent interview with the President by the writer, a few days after the occupation of Charleston by the Union forces, the subject of Sherman's march through South Carolina, and the apparent near success of General Grant before Richmond had been the subject of our conversation. I said: "Mr. Lincoln, I infer from the tone and expressions of the loyal press, and that is, I think, an indication of public sentiment, that the indignation and call for retribution and exemplary punishment on all the rebels in arms against the Government, which were so apparent and strongly manifested at the outbreak of the rebellion, have, in a great measure, given way to sentiments of a more Christian spirit, and as an incident in that direction, I recollect that at the time of the capture of Fort Sumpter, the united voice of the loyal press and people was that Charleston, the hot-bed of treason and the birthplace of the rebellion, when taken, should be leveled to the ground, and that not one stone or brick should be left on another; but at present that feeling of revenge and resentment seems to have passed away." The President remarked in reply: "My own feelings have also changed much in that direction, and I am much gratified to see that is the growing sentiment of the people. In the final success of the Union cause, our people can afford to be magnanimous and still just. I can see and feel that there are many reasons why this should be so. We have not been fighting aliens, but misled, misguided friends and brothers, members of our

own household, and we may grant and forgive much when we take into consideration what have been the teachings and influences which have formed and moulded the public sentiments and private feelings of that people. And now, when final success is obtained, which appears assured, I think the great object then to be first accomplished and to have in view, should be to bring back and restore the relation of the several rebel States to the Union and to their original and former standing. This may be done in a spirit of conciliation, friendship and forbearance which should characterize a generous and forgiving people. To effect this desirable object, I think that we should deal with them as generously as the interests of the Government and the public safety will permit." The pages of history fail to give us a similar exemplification of those sublime principles and virtues of moral and Christian excellence, of charity, generosity and fidelity to the Government and to the people at large, as were here exhibited in those few, simple, tender and benevolent words of the good President. Those cherished virtues of a common brotherhood, planted early in life in his heart by a devoted, Christian mother, bore their blossoms early in life, and luscious fruit in his mature years.

Time has not diminished their fragrance nor lessened the value to us of those virtues so rich in their beneficence which he left as a National inheritance, and which have become a Nation's treasure and the legacy of a loving, loyal people. The anxieties, burdens and labors which he had borne for the past four years were, in a measure, to be laid down, and in his kind, liberal heart, plans were already being formed for the welfare of the people, whose submission to the National authority was now about to be effected by the force of arms and fortune of war.

The *New York World* said of the President when his work was done: "If we look for the elements of character which contributed to the extraordinary and constantly growing popularity of Mr. Lincoln, we have not far to seek. The kindly, companionable, jovial turn of his disposition, free from every taint of affectation, puerile vanity, *parvenu* insolence, conveyed a strong impression of worth, sense and solidity, as well as goodness of heart. He never disclosed the slightest symptom that he was dazzled or elated by his great position, or that it was incumbent upon him to be anybody but plain Abraham Lincoln. This was in infinitely better taste than would have been any attempt to put on manners that did not set easily upon his training and habits, under the false notion that he would be supporting the dignity of his office. No offense in manners is so intolerable as affectation, nor anything so vulgar as a soul haunted by an uneasy consciousness of vulgarity. Mr. Lincoln's freedom from any such up-start affectation was one of the good points of his character, as it betokened his genuineness and sincerity."

How wonderfully the President sustained himself during those months of gloom and uncertainty which shrouded our country during the first two years of the war! Friends and foes were surprised, and found much to admire in the equanimity and uniformity of mind and temper of the President during this eventful period. This notable trait in his character, never yielding to despondency or anger, but, what is remarkable, continued to grow in self-possession and magnanimity until gentleness and firmness became the ruling principles of his administration. He had no word of censure, no denunciation for the failure of his officers on the Peninsula at Fredericksburg or at Chancellorville. To the factional Union parties in Missouri who were quarreling among themselves and with the policy of the President, he said: "It is very painful to me that you in Missouri cannot or will not settle your factional quarrels among yourselves. I have been tormented with them beyond endurance for a month by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to reason. I am now compelled to take hold of the case." To the Albany Democratic meeting, held to denounce the President for the arrest of Vallandigham, for military arrests and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, he said: "I would have preferred to have met you on the higher platform of American citizens at such a time as this, but since I am denied this, I am comforted with the reflection that all Democrats do not believe with you." To the Southern people who were trying to destroy the Union, in his first inaugural address, he said: "We must not be enemies; though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection." In his last message to Congress he said: "The enemies of the Government can at any moment have peace by laying down their arms and submitting to the National authority under the constitution."

In those kind and gentle traits of Lincoln's character we may measure the depth of agony and suffering through which he had to pass during those months and years of gloom and reverses, when the friends of the Union said: "When will the end of these calamities be?"

The President and the loyal people were now passing through "times that tried men's souls." It was during those days of National gloom and anguish that the President could be seen mornings, before office hours, walking back and forth on the corridors of the Executive Mansion with countenance indicating grief and sadness. To the lady who applied to him for the establishment of a hospital in a Northern State for wounded soldiers, who said to him: "If you will grant my petition you will be glad as long as you live," he said, as he bowed his head with a look of sorrow: "I never shall be glad any more." The lady heard his mournful words and said: "Oh, do not say so, Mr. Lincoln; for who will have so much reason to rejoice as

yourself when the Government shall be restored, as it will be?" "I know—I know," he said, pressing a hand on either side; "but the springs of life are wearing away and I shall not last."

"I never shall be glad any more!" The brave soldiers were slain, the enemies of his country were seeking his life. With a heart that beat kindly toward all, his motives were maligned, his good name condemned, greedy politicians and ambitious officers were about him pushing their selfish schemes, and he had daily experience of the faithlessness of men. "This great trouble," as he was accustomed to call the war, was always on his mind and heart. He was always weary; he could not sleep, and such was the character of the impressions he received from all his cares and toils that he felt that he could "never be glad any more." But the Winter of gloom and discontent was to disappear; his Emancipation Proclamation and the victories of Gettysburg, and Vicksburg brought the sunshine of confidence and hope, and with this came joy and gladness to the President and to the people. The policy and labors of the President were now to be established in the faith and affections of his people, his enemies were to be silenced, his friends to be reassured, and his person was to be regarded with love and veneration by millions of freemen.

CHAPTER L.

PEACE CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON ROADS.

Military events now rapidly transpiring indicated the early suppression of the rebellion. The leaders of the Confederacy were despondent and without hope, and there was discord and a want of harmony in their counsels and opinions. A number of the rebel leaders, among whom was A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, were sincerely desirous for peace, and would have been willing to have returned to the Union under conditions which they would have accepted. President Davis and other leaders were still opposed to any negotiations for peace or treaty, only on the basis of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. President Lincoln was well aware and well acquainted with the resolves and views of the rebel leaders, and had no confidence or belief that any peace conference that might be held would produce the desired results. No man in the Union was more desirous of peace than the President, but with peace must come full recognition of the National authority over the rebel Confederacy. On the 3d day of February, 1865, through the voluntary agency of Francis P. Blair, a conference, having for its object the preliminaries of peace, was held on the steamer *River Queen*, in Hampton Roads, between President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, representing the National authority, and Messrs. A. H. Stephens, J. A. Campbell and R. M. Hunter, representing the rebel Confederacy. The interview was informal in its character, verbal in its transactions and barren in its results. The President, desirous for peace on conditions that would satisfy the loyal people of the country, consented to become a party to the interview, as two of the commissioners were known to be sincere in their desires for peace. In the verbal conference that followed, the rebel commissioners suggested and favored a postponement of the question of separation, and such mutual efforts of the two Governments so as to give opportunity for the passions of the people to cool. The armies were to be reduced, and the intercourse between the people of the two sections was to be renewed. To this the President replied that he considered these suggestions as equivalent to an armistice, and that he could

not agree to a suspension of military movements except on the basis of a disbandment of the rebel army, and the recognition of the National supremacy through all the States of the Union. He further stated that the Emancipation Proclamation was irrevocable, and that Congress had passed the constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. That there was an earnest desire for peace on the part of all, does not admit of any doubt, but the President was committed, with truth to himself and honor to the people, to make peace only on the basis of National unity and the abolishment of slavery. The following communication of President Lincoln to the House of Representatives, and the official report of the rebel commissioners to President Davis elucidates the principal questions verbally treated in the peace commission:

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 10, 1865.

“On the morning of the 3d, the gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, came aboard our steamer and had an interview of several hours' duration with the Secretary of State and myself. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then or there mentioned. No other persons were present. No papers were exchanged or produced, and it was agreed in advance that the conversation was to be informal and verbal, merely. On my part the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State hereinbefore recited—first, the restoration of the National authority throughout all the States; second, no receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in the preceding documents; third, no cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbandment of all the forces hostile to the Government—was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith. While by the other party it was not said that in any event or any condition they ever would consent to reunion, and yet they equally omitted to declare that they would never so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question and the adoption of some other course first, which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion, but which course we thought would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.”

The following is the report of the rebel commissioners:

“RICHMOND, Va., February 5, 1865.

“TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.—SIR: Under your letter of appointment of the 28th ult. we proceeded to seek an ‘informal conference’ with Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, upon the subject mentioned in the letter. The conference was granted, and took place on the 3d inst. on board of a steamer in Hampton Roads, where we met President Lincoln and the Honorable Seward, Secretary of State of the

United States. It continued for several hours and was both full and explicit. We learned from them that the message of President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States, in December last, explains clearly and distinctly his sentiments as to the terms, conditions and methods of proceeding by which peace can be secured to the people, and we were not informed that they would be modified or altered to obtain that end. We understood from him that no terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement looking to an ultimate settlement would be entertained or made by him with the Confederate States because that would be a recognition of their existence as a separate power, which, under no circumstances would be done, and for like reasons no such terms would be entertained by him from the States separately. That no extended truce or armistice (as at present advised) would be granted, without a satisfactory assurance in advance of a complete restoration of the authority of the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy. That whatever consequences may follow from the re-establishment of that authority, they must be accepted, but that individuals, subject to pains and penalties under the laws of the United States, might rely upon a very liberal use of the power confided to him to remit those pains and penalties if peace be restored. During the conference, the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, adopted by Congress on the 31st ult., was brought to our notice. This amendment declares that neither slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crimes, should exist within their jurisdiction, and that Congress should have power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation. Of all the correspondence that preceded the conference herein mentioned, and leading to the same, you have heretofore been informed. Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

ALEX. H. STEPHENS,

R. M. T. HUNTER,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL."

The absence of reporters, and all persons except the members of the conference, has necessarily made the relation of the conversation on that occasion very meager. An account prepared by Mr. Stephens and published in the *Augusta, Georgia, Chronicle* gives some of the incidents which are very interesting and illustrative. It is here stated that President Lincoln declared that, in his negotiations for peace, he could not recognize another Government inside of the one of which he alone was President. "That," said he, "would be doing what you so long asked Europe to do in vain, and be resigning the only thing the Union armies are fighting for." To this Mr. Hunter replied that the recognition of Davis' power to make a treaty was the first and indispensable step to peace; and to illustrate his point, he referred to the correspondence between King Charles I and his Parliament, as a reliable precedent of a constitutional ruler treating with rebels. Mr. Stephens says:

“Here Mr. Lincoln’s face assumed that indescribable expression which uniformly preceded his severest hits, and remarked: ‘Upon questions of history, I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don’t profess to be; but my only distinct recollection of the matter is that Charles lost his head.’” Mr. Carpenter, in his reminiscences, gives a version of a characteristic story told by the President on this occasion. They were discussing the slavery question, when Mr. Hunter remarked that the slaves, always accustomed to work upon compulsion, under an overseer, would, if suddenly freed, precipitate not only themselves, but the entire society of the South in irremediable ruin. No work would be done, but the blacks and whites would starve together. The President waited for Mr. Seward to answer the argument; but as that gentleman hesitated, he said: “Mr. Hunter, you ought to know a great deal better about this matter than I, for you have always lived under the slave system. I can only say in reply to your statement of the case, that it reminds me of a man out in Illinois by the name of Case, who undertook, a few years ago, to raise a very large herd of hogs. It was a great trouble to feed them, and how to get around this was a puzzle to him. At length he hit upon the plan of planting an immense field of potatoes, and when they were sufficiently grown, he turned the whole herd into the field and let them have full swing, thus saving not only the labor of feeding the herd, but also of digging the potatoes. Charmed with his sagacity, he stood one day leaning against the fence, counting his hogs, when a neighbor came along. ‘Well, well,’ said he; ‘Mr. Case, this is all very fine. Your hogs are doing very well just now, but you know out here in Illinois the frost comes early, and the ground freezes a foot deep, then what are they going to do?’ This was a view of the matter which Mr. Case had not taken into account. Butchering time for hogs was away in December or January. He scratched his head and at length stammered, ‘Well, it may come pretty hard on their snouts, but I don’t see but it must be root hog, or die.’”

The terms on which peace could be obtained and assured were so clearly set forth by the President on this occasion, as well as at the attempt from the Niagara Falls negotiation, that it appeared evident that he was willing and anxious for peace on, and only on, the conditions that would restore the National authority in all the States, and satisfy the loyal Union people of the country.

We may not assume that the President expected any favorable results in the direction of peace from this conference. He was fully acquainted with the sentiments of the rebel leaders, that only on the recognition of their Government and separation, would they lay down their arms, and that only on this acquiescence by the National authority could peace be obtained. To the

people of the South, the question of peace was the controlling thought and feeling of every mind. But one view, however, was entertained by the Government, and a majority of the people, and that was when the National authority is prepared to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States the war will close and peace be assured. That Mr. Davis should desire peace on those conditions is apparent to all. That he, knowing the sentiments of the loyal people, and the official declarations of the National administration, could expect peace only on the restoration of the Union, is to be presumed. The Confederate Government in those futile attempts at negotiation was striving to impress the idea on the Southern people, now fast becoming restless and weary under the daily increasing burdens of the war, that all possible efforts had been made to obtain peace, and that President Lincoln had, with indignity and insolence, refused and repelled all attempts and advances tending to that end. The object of the peace conference on the part of the rebel authorities was apparent on the return of the rebel commissioners to Richmond. A public meeting was called, at which President Davis took occasion to deliver a vindictive tirade against the National administration, and at which meeting resolutions were passed, declaring that the terms offered by President Lincoln were an insult to the Southern people, and that the Confederates would never lay down their arms until they had achieved their independence.

CHAPTER LI.

UNITED STATES SANITARY AND CHRISTIAN COMMISSIONS.

Soon after the call for seventy-five thousand soldiers by President Lincoln on the capture of Sumpter, many charitable men and women instituted in the several States what they called Soldiers' Aid Societies. It was soon perceived that much more good could be accomplished by a more general and thorough organization. A number of leading clergymen and physicians, realizing the advantages of a unity of action, and seeking no remuneration, applied to the Government for recognition and moral support. This being obtained, they were properly organized as "The United States Sanitary Commission." The Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., was chosen as its President. Their intentions and designs at first were to give their professional advice and aid to the medical department of the field service; but it was soon seen that there was a large opening before them, and that their operations could be very efficiently enlarged. They published and circulated among the surgeons of the army many valuable tracts on Hygiene, such as "Rules for Preserving the Health of a Soldier," "Advice as to Camping," and soon were added medical reports, "Reports on Amputations," "Reports on Dysentery," "Directions as to Army Surgeons on the Battlefield." Soon the opportunities and necessities of active service demanded in the field an active executive body. With this demand, they prepared and organized their final grand organization of benevolence and charity on a basis as universal as it was noble. Three committees were appointed; one to communicate with the Government, one to act and communicate with the army officers, and a third to act and communicate with the public. Commensurate with the gigantic field open for its operations, the Sanitary Commission now entered upon its remarkable and successful career of mercy and usefulness. It now had the support of the Government, and affiliated with the medical bureau. The loyal people of every class and condition gathered to its support, and all seemed to strive for superiority in their offerings. The abundant and liberal

contributions soon gave the commission means for its own independent transportation. It had hospital transports, wagons, ambulances, railroad cars, and means secured for the safe and comfortable transportation of the wounded soldier from the battlefield to the hospital. As the war went on and increased in magnitude, so did its work increase, and also its energies and the wonderful efficacy and efficiency of its organization. Its departments of relief were divided into twelve branches, having depots in the large cities, each branch having a large number of auxiliaries employed in obtaining supplies. From these many sources, the provisions and offerings were sent to the main depots, there to be assorted, repacked and forwarded. At one of these branches, the "Woman's Central Association," there were collected stores of the value of over one million of dollars. At another, at Chicago, was furnished over a quarter of a million. Care was taken to have no waste. The soldiers from the different States were equally supplied, and the wounded rebel soldiers left on the battlefield, and the sick abandoned in the hospitals were to receive relief and to be tenderly cared for. Many of the boys in gray had reason to be thankful for the kind and merciful ministrations and relief afforded by the Sanitary Commissions. Its office of special relief was varied and general. Soldiers on their way to their regiments, or on their way home by discharge or furlough, or on sick leave were furnished meals and lodgings. Seventy-five hundred soldiers were on an average thus daily or nightly accommodated. It had special lodges where a sick soldier, while awaiting for his pay or unable to reach a hospital, might stop for a time. It had stations where a hungry soldier, passing, could have a free meal. On the military lines of travel these feeding stations were permanently established. On the large rivers—the Mississippi, Cumberland, Potomac—it had sanitary steamers for transmitting supplies and transporting the sick and wounded. Whenever opportunity appeared, it sent supplies to the Union prisoners of war confined at Andersonville, Salisbury and Richmond. On every flag-of-truce boat it placed clothing, medicines and cordials to meet prisoners who had been exchanged. It examined with care the Government prison camps, extending its merciful supervision to the Confederate prisoners of war. With charity and mercy it comforted and cared for all. It had its agencies to see that no injustice was done to any soldier, his widow or orphan, that their claims were allowed and paid and that no sharper took advantage of them. Its duty in its department of field relief was to minister to the wounded on the battlefield, to furnish bandages, cordials, nourishments, to give assistance to the surgeons and to supply any deficiencies it could detect in the field. From the time it was first organized, May, 1864, to January, 1865, it gave its services to more than seventy-five thousand patients. It waited on the sick and wounded, wrote letters for them, gave them stationery, postage stamps, news-

papers, and lightened the wearisome hours of suffering by reading magazines and books to them, and by friendly and pleasant conversation. The Government gave the Sanitary Commission a cordial and earnest support. Grand fairs for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission were held in Philadelphia and Baltimore, attended by President Lincoln, in which he manifested his earnest sympathy and support of the commission by brief speeches on the occasions. At Baltimore, he said: "Calling it to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. Looking upon the many people I see assembled here to serve as best they may the soldiers of the Union, it occurs to me that three years ago those soldiers could not pass through Baltimore. I would say, blessings upon the men who wrought these changes, and the women who have assisted them."

But from the people at large came that liberal and generous beneficence which has no parallel in the history of the past. They gave it their earnest and hearty approval. They gave it more; they gave it money and means unstinted, free and ample, as was the charity dispensed. They gave three millions of dollars in money, of which the Pacific States gave one million. They sent in also nine millions worth of supplies.

The operations and services of the Sanitary Commission were worthy of the magnitude of the great civil war, the asperities, horrors and sufferings of which it did so much to alleviate. Philanthropists of the old world looked on with astonishment and admiration on the magnificent organization of charity and mercy to friend and foe. And they failed to find in the ages of the past a similar example.

While the physical wants and sufferings of the soldiers and sailors were being supplied and attended to by the Sanitary Commission, the Christian Commission was organized and strove to emulate in works of love and mercy the United States Sanitary Commission. It also received the aid and recognition of the Government. Its design was to alleviate the physical sufferings and promote the spiritual welfare of the soldiers and sailors. Its principal office was in Philadelphia, with agencies in the several States. It, too, received the aid of the Government in free transportation and the use of the telegraph lines. Steamboat and railroad companies furnished it with transportation. It followed the armies, went into the trenches and was on hand at every battle. Wherever there was a wounded, sick or dying soldier an agent of the Christian Commission was there to give hope and consolation in the dying hour. It gave Christian burial, whenever possible, and marked the resting place of the sleeping dead. It had its religious services in camp, and held its prayer meetings. It gave the soldier and sailor Bibles and Testaments, and various religious and moral publications. It distributed

nearly five millions of dollars in money and supplies. Untiring in their work of charity, those illustrious Commissions cared for the soldiers and sailors when they had finished their work and saved the Union. They organized agencies for employment and information, to find and to give to each one wishing a situation which he was capable of filling, and protected him from imposition, and assisted him in procuring his arrearages of pay and pensions if he was entitled to the same.

Near the close of the war, in February, 1865, the annual meeting of the Christian Commission was held in Washington. As events then in progress gave assurance that it would probably be the last annual meeting of that benevolent body, much interest was manifested, and the attendance was large from all parts of the loyal States. The meeting was held in the evening at the National capitol in the hall of the House of Representatives. The hall, galleries and corridors were filled to their utmost capacity. It was estimated that three thousand persons were present. Hon. George H. Stuart, Chairman of the Commission, called the meeting to order, and Chief Justice Chase of the United States Supreme Court was called to preside over the large assembly. Mr. Lincoln was present, and manifested a deep interest in the proceedings of the commission. Reports of its operations, receipts and expenditures for the last year were read. Addresses were delivered by a number of notables present, among whom was Richardson, correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, who gave a graphic detail of his escape from Andersonville prison, and the assistance and information he received from the colored people while making his way through the mountains of North Carolina to the Federal lines. Chaplain McCabe sang his favorite, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," the large audience joining in the chorus. As the melody of the thousands of voices echoed and re-echoed through the vast corridors of the capitol, the uplifted countenances of the vast multitude beamed with joy and pleasure in full accord with the harmonious strains. As the echoes died away, the meeting adjourned.

The next day, some two hundred members of the commission called at the Executive Mansion to pay their respects to the President. The writer was present. The Chairman of the commission, Hon. George H. Stuart, made a short address to the President, in which he spoke of the great debt of gratitude which the country owed Mr. Lincoln. "My friends," said the President in reply, "neither you nor the country owe me any gratitude for what I have done. I trust all that has been done by us has been done as a work of duty. Our gratitude, all gratitude, is due to the great Giver of all good. To Him our thanks are due for His manifestations in the Nation's behalf, and for that spirit of love and charity which He has given to the

members of the Christian Commission to faithfully discharge their duty." At the close of his remarks, he cordially and gratefully assented to a suggestion for prayer, and Bishop Janes offered, in the East-room, a brief and fervent petition to the Throne of Grace. The occasion was a memorable one, and will long be remembered by those present.

CHAPTER LII.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURATION.

The Thirty-eighth Congress by constitutional limitation adjourned March 3d, and the Senate, by proclamation of the President, was convened in extra session. On the 3d day of March, 1865, President Lincoln's first term of office expired. In reviewing this period of the Nation's history it appears how eminently fortunate the Nation was in the administration of President Lincoln, whose measures secured the respect and confidence, as well as the unbounded affections, of the people. And equally fortunate was the President in the selection of his constitutional advisers. Remarks made in 1878 by our lamented President, Garfield, referring to President Lincoln and his Cabinet, will be appropriate here. Speaking of our civil war, he said :

“ Let us pause to consider the actors in that scene. In force of character, in thoroughness and breadth of culture, in experience of public affairs, and in National reputation the Cabinet that sat around that council-board has had no superior, perhaps no equal in our history. Seward, the finished scholar, the consummate orator, the great leader of the Senate, had come to crown his career with those achievements which placed him in the first rank of modern diplomatists. Chase, with a culture and a fame of massive grandeur, stood as the rock and pillar of the public credit, the noble embodiment of the public faith. Stanton was there, a very Titan of strength, the great organizer of victory. Eminent lawyers, men of business, leaders of States and leaders of men completed the group. But the man who presided over that council, inspired and guided its deliberations, was a character so unique that he stood alone, without a model in history or a parallel among men. Born on this day, sixty-nine years ago, to an inheritance of extreme poverty, surrounded by the rude forces of the wilderness, wholly unaided by parents, only one year in any school, never for a day master of his own time, until he reached his majority, making his way to the profession of the law by the hardest and roughest road, yet by force of unconquerable will and persistent, patient work, he attained a foremost place in his profession. Gifted

with an insight and a foresight which the ancients would have called divination, he saw, in the midst of darkness and obscurity, the logic of events, and forecast the result. From the first, in his own quaint, original way, without ostentation or offense to his associates, he was commander of his administration. He was one of the few great rulers whose wisdom increased with his power, and whose spirit grew gentler and tenderer as his triumphs were multiplied."

On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Lincoln was re-inaugurated into the Presidential office. This event called many friends of the President to the National capital. A large and loyal crowd was present, friends not doubtful of the future, nor fearful of the President, as on a former occasion. Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office, and then the President read his inaugural address. It was a State paper which has no parallel in sentiments of Christian excellence and charity. Its words were true and noble, void of resentment, and spoken in a reverent and Catholic spirit. They have elicited the commendation and cordial approval of just men throughout the civilized world. The address was as follows:

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—At this, my second, appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion that I should give an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of the course I proposed to pursue seemed proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been repeatedly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the Nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms—upon which all else chiefly depends—is as well known to you as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to us all. While I have the highest hopes for the future, I shall here venture on no predictions. On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, the thoughts of all of us were anxiously directed to the impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties depreciated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the Nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came. One-eighth of the whole were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more

than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe unto that man by whom the offense cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses, which in the providence of God must needs come, but having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him. Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting place among ourselves and with all nations."

Truthful, frank, forgiving, gentle, just—this last State paper of President Lincoln to his fellow-countrymen stands pre-eminent on the pages of history—eminent for its serenity of temper, for a logical perception of the character of the National conflict, and for its undisputed charity and sincerity.

On the 6th of March, Mr. Fessenden resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and Hugh McCulloch of Indiana was appointed in his place. In an exhaustive report on the financial condition of the Nation, Mr. McCulloch says that "since the commencement of the special session of 1861, the most important subject which has demanded and received the attention of Congress has been that of providing the means for the prosecution of the war. The success of the Government in raising money is evidence of the

wisdom of the measures devised for this purpose, as well as of the loyalty of the people and the resources of the country. No Nation within the same period ever borrowed so largely or with so much facility. It is now demonstrated that a republican Government can not only carry on a war on the most gigantic scale, and create a debt of immense magnitude, but can place this debt on a satisfactory basis, and meet every engagement with fidelity." The Secretary remarks that "the establishment of the National banking system is one of the great compensations of this war—one of the great achievements of this remarkable period. In about two years and a half from the organization of the first National Bank, the whole system of banking under State laws has been superceded, and the people of the United States have been furnished with a circulation, bearing upon it the seal of the Treasury Department as a guaranty of its solvency. It only remains that this circulation shall be a redeemable circulation—redeemable not only at the counters of the banks, but at the commercial cities, to make the National banking system of almost inconceivable benefit to the country."

In pursuance of an Act of Congress, on the 11th of March the President issued a proclamation, calling upon deserters to return to their regiments with the promise of pardon. This proclamation had its desired effect, as most of the absentees returned to their duty. The days of the Confederacy were now nearly numbered, and the life of the rebellion was now in the last throes of dissolution. We may here notice the objects which those who originated the civil war had in view, and see how far their designs and purposes had been attained, and how far the anticipation of those who inaugurated this unnatural war had been realized, and their efforts successful.

The loss of political power and patronage, as has been before stated, was the primary cause of secession. The preponderance of numbers and power in the free States made it politically impossible for the slave States to retain their supremacy in the Union, and hence they resolved on disunion. The leaders attempted to justify their action on the doctrine of State rights, and the causes they taught the people were the security and safety of slavery and the right of its extension. Those principles on which the South justified its rebellion against the National Government brought out the inevitable consequences in antagonistic principles. Thus emancipation became the natural and necessary antagonist of slavery, and nationality that of State rights or secession.

When the Union was first assailed and its laws and authority were first resisted, the Government had no object, other than the perpetuity of the Union and the enforcement of the laws. As the war progressed, the idea of emancipation grew into importance, and forced itself upon the Nation and

administration. Thus emancipation became the war power of the loyal States, as slavery was the war offense and defense of the Southern Confederacy. When we compare them in their true relations, their intrinsic values at once appear. The former has the sympathy of the race, is the embodiment of civilization and is the word of hope and desire of the oppressed of every land. The power and strength of the latter were fallacies. It was circumscribed and local in its influences and operation, it had no friends abroad and its power was decaying at home. For a time the Southern Confederacy considered it a tower of strength and believed that it strengthened their cause, but before the war was over the progress of emancipation in the border States dispelled this illusion.

Secession, or State rights, contrasted with nationality, is equally weak and illusive. Previous to the war, the idea of nationality was in a quiescent State, but the sentiment was generally accepted. With secession or State rights came in contra-distinction, nationality. These distinctions were so marked during the war, that in the Confederacy few could be found who recollected that they were Americans and in the loyal States men had forgotten to what State they belonged. Secession clamored for State rights. Union men were accepting the nobler idea of a great and undivided nationality. Thus slavery and secession were confronted with emancipation and nationality, the former perished in the conflict, and the latter remains, with its principles and ideas cherished. The first, emancipation accomplished; the second, nationality established and held sacred and inviolate by a reunited and prosperous people.

CHAPTER LIII.

SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS, AND FALL OF RICHMOND.

Military events were now rapidly closing up the last days of the rebellion. General Sherman, at Savannah, was preparing and recruiting his victorious army for his march through South and North Carolina. General Grant was still holding General Lee and the rebel army in Richmond, only awaiting the proper moment for aggressive action, while offensive and successful movements were being prosecuted in almost every other quarter of the Confederacy by the Union forces.

The 15th of January, General Sherman resumed his march from Savannah, his objective point being Goldsboro, North Carolina. On the 30th the borders of South Carolina were reached. The army on the march subsisted upon the country; every effort possible was made by the enemy to impede his onward career, but all obstacles were brushed aside as if by a resistless tornado; railroads were torn up and destroyed in every direction, and the destruction of public property was full and complete in every quarter. Columbia was reached the 17th of February, and there being no adequate force of the enemy at hand to defend it, the Mayor came out and surrendered the city to Colonel Stone of General Logan's corps. With the occupation of Columbia came the evacuation of Charleston, Fort Sumpter and all other defenses of the harbor. Fayetteville, North Carolina, was reached on the 12th of March, and now communication was opened and established with General Schofield at Wilmington, from which point supplies were furnished the army. Wilmington had been captured and occupied by General Schofield on the 14th of January, and Mobile had been taken by General Canby on the 11th of January. And so the Union successes and victories rolled resistlessly onward on every hand. Attempts were made by General Johnson with the rebel forces, at Bentonville and Averysborough, to stay General Sherman's onward march, but without avail, and on the 22d of March Goldsboro was occupied, and here the victorious army rested for sometime, and General Sherman visited City Point for consultation with General Grant

relative to further operations. The grand campaign, conceived and inaugurated by General Grant in conjunction with General Sherman, was now about to be consummated. The long-delayed, but now appropriate, time to move on the rebel army under General Lee, and on Richmond was at hand. On the 23d of March President Lincoln visited City Point to relieve himself for a time from the cares of office and to be near the military operations, which were now big with important issues for the Union. On the 25th General Lee with the rebel forces assaulted and captured Fort Steadman, but it was immediately retaken, with great loss to the enemy. The President visited the scene the same day, and was vociferously cheered by the soldiers. The day had been set apart for a grand review of the soldiers in honor of the President. But the President said: "It is better than a review."

On the 28th of March, at City Point, a council of war was held, in attendance at which were the President and Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade and Ord. The next day General Sherman left to rejoin his army. For several days preceding the council, General Grant had been making new dispositions of his troops, preparatory to the grand movement near at hand. On Wednesday, March 29th, the next day after the council was held, the grand advance of the army began. Before noon a new line of battle was formed, the right of which occupied the extreme left of its former position, and preparations were at once made to hold this position. The day passed; only Warren's corps encountered a sharp resistance, holding its ground. Heavy rains during the night and next day prevented any movements by either army, the Union army perfecting their formations and their connections. On Friday, General Grant, on account of the preceding heavy rains, proposed to hold his position during the day without offensive movements. But General Lee was alive to his peril. If General Grant held his position the rebel army could not hold Richmond. He concentrated a large force on the right of the Union army, and made repeated efforts on Friday and Saturday mornings to force back and retake the Union positions. In these repeated attempts he was partially successful, but later in the day, on Saturday, the ground was all retaken, and the Union troops occupied the positions which the rebels held in the morning, Sheridan and Warren having achieved decided success, taking five thousand prisoners. The next morning at daybreak the Union forces were directed to assault and force the rebel lines, which was gallantly done, and at 10 A. M. success was complete, and the triumphs of the three days of hard fighting were twelve thousand prisoners and fifty pieces of artillery.

While the three days' battles were in progress, President Lincoln remained at City Point receiving dispatches from the field, and forwarding

the material portions of the same to the War Department. On Sunday the President announced to Secretary Stanton the signal and triumphant success of our armies, and that the Union success was full and complete. At 10:30 A. M., Sunday, General Lee telegraphed to Davis, in Richmond, the following dispatch: "My lines are broken in three places. Richmond must be evacuated this evening." That message found Mr. Davis at 11 A. M., in church, where it was handed him, and he immediately went quietly and soberly out—never to return as President of the Confederacy.

Eleven months previous General Grant crossed the Rapidan with his army, the ostensible object being the capture or destruction of Lee's army, and the fall and occupation of Richmond. General Grant entered on this movement and campaign, having the full confidence of the administration and the hopeful expectation of the loyal citizens. He had from an early period of the rebellion conceived, and was fully impressed, with the belief and idea that the rebel chiefs would never return to their loyalty to the Government until their military power was fully and essential subdued and broken, and he knew of no mode or power save by the strongest armies in bloody battles. In his final report General Grant says: "I therefore determined—first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy, preventing it from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance; second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and its resources, until, by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left of it but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the constitution and laws of the land. These views have been kept constantly in mind, and orders have been given and campaigns have been made to carry them out. Whether they might have been better in conception and execution is for the people, who mourn the loss of friends fallen, and who have to pay the pecuniary cost, to say. All I can say is that what I have done has been done conscientiously, to the best of my ability, and in what I conceived to be for the best interests of the whole country."

It was doubtless the expectation of General Grant, when he crossed the Rapidan, to have defeated General Lee decisively before reaching Chickahominy, but in this he was disappointed. The rebels were, however, learning very fast that the conduct of General Grant in this campaign was more offensive, and not as satisfactory to them as the strategy of General McClellan. General Grant is fairly entitled to the honor of undertaking, with a purpose, a very difficult and formidable enterprise, and performing it to the best of his ability and successfully, and when he, with his army, sat

down before Richmond south of James river, he had placed his army just where the rebels desired it should not be, as they showed by their desperate efforts and attempts to entice and draw him from his position, and this is evidenced in the final overthrow and collapse of the rebellion. The campaigns of Sherman and Thomas may have been considered more brilliant, but none were more conducive in breaking and crushing the strength and power of the rebellion than that campaign which began on the Rapidan and ended in the capture of General Lee and his army.

President Davis left Richmond at 10 P. M. Sunday. The rebel officials and their members of Congress, with the rebel Governor, William Smith, also hurried away. At 6 P. M. Monday the rebel capital was occupied by the Union forces, and the star, spangled banner of our Union that was raised and floated over the St. Charles, at New Orleans, when it was taken by General Butler, was raised over the rebel capitol in Richmond, and was saluted with huzzahs from the excited thousands below. Many probably cheered who would have done it more heartily had the fortunes of the day been reversed. Before leaving the city the rebel authorities issued orders for the destruction of the rams and shipping in James river, the warehouses and mills in the city, and all the bridges on the railroads leading out of the city. This order was executed, and in the general conflagration which followed one-third of the city was destroyed. The city was placed under military government by the appointment of General G. F. Shepley Governor, and Colonel Manning Provost, Marshal. The fire was extinguished as soon as possible, but not until it had burned the extensive warehouses, the Post-office, the Treasury building, the principal banks, newspaper offices and an immense amount of private property, amounting to many millions of dollars.

Before noon on Monday the joyful news of the occupation of Richmond by the Union forces had been flashed to all parts of the Union, and the glad tidings were soon confirmed by telegrams from President Lincoln, then at City Point, and from the Secretary of War at Washington. This day will long be remembered by the American people. At once all public offices were closed and all business suspended by the great majority, who profoundly rejoiced in the great National triumph so long, so anxiously desired. Every church bell, and bells on the public buildings, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, rang with joyous notes. Cannon answered cannon from mountain to valley, and re-echoed the Nation's joy. Men embraced each other in the streets, wept and clasped hands for joy, and the words, peace and victory, were on every tongue. Public meetings were called in every town and city, and millions listened to the deeds of the gallant heroes who had won the day; and, with cheers and thanksgiving, the people gave utterance to their joy and enthusiasm. In all this manifestation of joy and expression of

popular feeling of relief and gratitude, there was no unmanly exultation over the vanquished, no bitterness of feeling demanding condign punishment on those whose unnatural and wicked ambition and rebellion had so long defied the National authority, and so fully devastated, and so eagerly endeavored to destroy the Union. Nothing like this demonstration was ever before seen, or will ever be seen again on this continent. The rebel capital, which had so long resisted the National arms, and for whose fall the Nation's blood had been poured out as water, was ours. President Davis and his Cabinet were now fugitives. The tension, the strain of an unnatural and fratricidal war, that had been borne by the Nation for four protracted and tedious years had been loosened, and the people sprang up in joyous demonstration and exultation. On that joyful day the annual election was held in Connecticut. That State, five months before, was closely contested; now, every county went Republican by an aggregate majority of over ten thousand—a full victory for the first time in many years, choosing a full representation in Congress from the four districts, and making a full success, locally and generally. An opposition Democratic journal accounted for this great Republican victory by the fact “that, while the votes were being cast, cannons were thundering, bands playing, and the excited people were shouting over the fall of Richmond.”

President Lincoln, who had gone to the front on the 24th of March, in anticipation of General Grant's final movements against Lee, had been in constant communication with the Lieutenant-General, and during the successful movements of the Union army was in constant communication with General Grant and the War Department, until the day after the evacuation of Richmond, when he, on April 4th, accompanied Admiral Porter in a gunboat up to Rocketts, a mile below the city, and thence was rowed to the wharf and walked thence, attended by Admiral Porter and a few marines armed with carbines, to General Weitzel's headquarters in the Executive Mansion so recently abandoned by the President of the rebel Confederacy. The President entered the rebel capital as a citizen of the Union he had labored so successfully to save. No thundering cannon announced his approach; no triumphal car conveyed the savior of his country to the conquered city; no guard of honor, no grand display of troops were there to welcome him, but on foot, with no guard except the sailors who had rowed him up James river, he entered and passed through the city restored to the Union. How wonderful and strange the event! But yesterday the city bristled with hostile bayonets and all the paraphernalia of civil war, and now the President of the United States—he who had been despised, hated and maligned above all other men living, and to whom the vilest epithets had been applied by the people of Richmond, was walking their streets,

receiving blessings and prayers from thousands, who hailed him as their deliverer. Soon the information was spread that the man, who was a head taller than all others around him, with a mild eye and pleasant countenance, was President Lincoln. The air soon rang with a chorus of glad and happy voices. Thousands crowded to welcome and bless their emancipator. The streets soon became impassable on account of the increasing multitude, and soldiers were called to clear the way. The walk was long, and the President halted a short time to rest. "May de good Lord bless you, President Linkum," said an old negro, removing his hat, bowing, while tears ran down his cheeks. The President removed his hat and bowed in silence.

While reminded that Washington returned the salutation of a negro because he would not be outdone in politeness, we can see even more than politeness in Lincoln's courtesy. It was an act of recognition for the services of the colored soldiers who had laid down their lives for the Union and impartial justice, that lowered the dignity of the conqueror to the salutation of the delivered. It was a bow, a condescension which overturned the customs, forms and usages of ages. After holding a short levee at General Weitzel's headquarters, the President took a drive through the principal streets, and at 6 P. M. he returned to City Point. Two days later the President repeated his visit to the city, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, the Vice-President and several United States Senators. He was now waited upon by several leading Confederates, who, feeling that their cause was hopeless, were desirous to make the best terms possible with the Government, and the President, in that spirit of kindness and magnanimity which had so distinguished his administration, gave them a gracious audience, and a reception favorable to their early return to their allegiance and former relations with the National Government, creating thus, by his kindness and absence of resentment, a feeling of confidence and trust for the future in the minds and hearts of the citizens of Richmond. The President returned, April 8th, to Washington.

CHAPTER LIV.

EVACUATION OF RICHMOND, AND LEE'S SURRENDER.

The Army of Virginia, now, April 2d, reduced by its recent heavy losses and by desertions to thirty-five thousand men, was now concentrated as quickly as possible from Richmond on the north and Petersburg on the south, at Chesterfield Court-house, and was thence moved as rapidly as possible to Amelia Court-house. Here they were halted for supplies. Lee was detained there the 4th and 5th before food could be obtained for his famished men. Meanwhile, Sheridan moved rapidly westward by roads south of Lee's position, reaching the Danville railroad at Jettersville. Here he planted his force across the railroad, fortifying his position, prepared to stop Lee's entire force until Grant and Meade should be able to overtake and crush him. Meade, with the 2d and 6th corps, came up late on the 5th, while Lee was still at Amelia Court-house. Lee left Amelia Court-house, with his army, at night, the 5th, moving around the left of Meade and Sheridan's position, aiming for Farmersville, in order to cross the Appomattox, and thus escape his pursuers. But this was not to be. General Davis had already made a reconnoissance to our left, and had met, at Paine's cross-roads, Lee's train in advance of his infantry, and destroyed one hundred and eighty wagons, capturing five guns and many prisoners. Crook, of Sheridan's left, advanced to Dentonsville, where Lee's whole army was moving rapidly westward. Crook immediately charged, as directed by Sheridan, being inferior in force, but determined to detain the enemy until supports could arrive. The result justified the daring. Cook was repulsed, but meanwhile Custer, with his division of horse, attacked further on, gaining the road at Sailors' creek, where Crook and Deven coming to his support, they broke the rebel line, capturing four hundred wagons, sixteen guns and many prisoners. Ewell's corps, following the train, was thus cut off from Lee's army. His advance was charged by Colonel Stagg's brigade, and Seymore's division coming up, the odds were too great, and Ewell's veterans, inclosed between our cavalry and the 6th corps, after a gallant defense, threw down their arms and sur-

rendered. General Ewell and six thousand prisoners were taken this day. Lee, with his vanguard, crossed the Appomattox at Farmersville, the night of the 6th, but his men were fainting and falling by the way. During the night of the 6th many of the chief officers of the retreating army met around a camp fire to discuss their desperate condition. Upon a full exchange of opinions, it was unanimously conceded that a surrender was inevitable. Lee was not present, but the result of the council was conveyed to him by General Pendleton.

Meade and Sheridan having taken possession of the Danville railroad at Jetersville, Lee's supplies for his army, which had been collected at Lynchburgh and Danville, were intercepted. So, while the retreating, famished rebel soldiers were endeavoring to evade the persistent pursuit of Sheridan's cavalry, they were compelled to procure their subsistence from the already exhausted country. Hunger and fatigue were rapidly decimating the ranks of the fugitives. Already weariness, fatigue and despair had compelled half of the soldiers to throw away their arms, which they were no longer able to carry. The soldiers were completely disheartened and disorganized.

General Grant, while directing the pursuit from Farmville, dispatched to General Lee the following letter:

"April 7, 1865.

"GENERAL—The results of last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"GEN. R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

In the meanwhile, the retreat and pursuit went on, General Lee sending this reply to General Grant, which reached him at Farmville next morning:

"April 7, 1865.

"GENERAL—I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

R. E. LEE, General."

To this note General Grant immediately replied:

"April 8, 1865.

"GENERAL—Your note of last evening in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of

Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say, that, peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely: That the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received."

"GENERAL R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

On the morning of the 7th, Sheridan, with his cavalry, moved to Prince Edward's Court-house to head off Lee's retreat on Danville. On the morning of the 8th the 2d and 6th corps under Meade moved directly on the rear of Lee's retreat. Crook and Merritt's divisions of cavalry, by a forced march of twenty-eight miles, intercepted four trains of supplies for Lee's army from Lynchburg, which they surrounded and captured. This was aided by our advance under General Custer. Without any hesitation, General Custer, supported by General Devin, pushed on toward Appomattox Court-house, and here, finding his force confronted by the van of Lee's army, he drove it back on the main body, capturing twenty-five guns, a hospital train, a large part of the wagons and many prisoners. Sheridan brought up the balance of his cavalry as fast as possible, placing it directly in front of the enemy, and sending word to Grant that the capture of Lee's army was now inevitable. In consequence of these advices, Generals Griffin and Ord reached Appomattox station at daylight next morning. General Lee had sent, the evening before, the following reply to General Grant's last note:

"April 8, 1865.

"GENERAL—I received, at a late hour, your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday, I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army, but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may effect the Confederate States forces under my command and tend to the restoration, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A.M. to-morrow, on the old stageroad to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

R. E. LEE, General."

General Grant was with Meade's column pursuing Lee, and received the above note about midnight. Before leaving the next morning for the front to

join Sheridan and Griffin he dispatched the following reply to General Lee's note :

" April 9, 1865.

" GENERAL—Your note of yesterday is received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace. The meeting proposed for 10 A. M. to-day will lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms on which peace can be had are well understood. If the South lay down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, and save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.

" GENERAL R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

General Sheridan was with his cavalry near the Appomattox Court-house when the army of General Lee made their last charge. Sheridan had covered our infantry with his cavalry dismounted, and as the enemy approached, our front gave way gradually, giving time for our infantry to form and take position. When this was effected, the cavalry moved swiftly to the right and mounted, disclosing lines of solid infantry to the enemy, who recoiled in blank dismay. A white flag was now displayed by the enemy, and Sheridan, riding over to the Court-house, was met by General Gordon, who requested a suspension of hostilities, as negotiations for a capitulation were then pending between Generals Grant and Lee. General Grant, before reaching Sheridan's headquarters, received the following note :

" April 9, 1865.

" GENERAL—I received your note of this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

" LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

R. E. LEE, General."

The two Generals met at once at the house of W. McLean where the preliminaries of the surrender were arranged, and the result of the conference are indicated and comprised in the following letters :

" APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, April 9, 1865.

" GENERAL—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate: One copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The

officers to give their individual parole not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property to be packed and stacked and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as he observes his parole and the laws in force where he may reside.

“GENERAL R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.”

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

“GENERAL—I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

“LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

R. E. LEE, General.”

After the signatures were written, General Lee said “he had forgotten one thing. Many cavalry and artillery horses in his army belong to men in charge of them, but, of course, it was too late to speak of it now.” General Grant replied: “I will instruct my paroling officers that all the enlisted men of your cavalry and artillery who own horses are to retain them, just as the officers do theirs. They will need them for their Spring plowing and other farm work.” “General,” replied Lee with much feeling and earnestness, “there is nothing that you could have done to accomplish more good either for them or the Government.”

Viewed in connection with General Grant's persistent and successful campaign, his letters to General Lee in relation to the surrender of his army show victory of character as well as of arms. For the tender and humane spirit in them expressed they will be read everywhere, and for succeeding ages with admiration. They exhibit no indication of triumph; no exultation over a fallen foe. The successful General whose duty had been plain, who was inexorable in his persistence for victory, and whose unparalleled energy was marked with crimson tide, asks the vanquished, in the name of their common country, and of their common humanity, to end the strife without the loss of another life.

On the 26th of April, J. E. Johnson commanding the Confederate States army in North Carolina, surrendered his army to W. T. Sherman, Major-

General. The surrender of Johnson to Sherman was followed on the 15th of May by that of General Taylor, with all the Confederate soldiers then remaining east of the Mississippi river, to General Canby. And on the 26th of the same month General Kerby Smith surrendered his entire command west of the Mississippi to General Canby. This ended all military opposition to the United States Government.

CHAPTER LV.

JOY OF THE PRESIDENT AND PEOPLE—RAISING THE OLD FLAG ON FORT SUMPTER.

On Saturday, April 8th, President Lincoln and family returned to Washington from Richmond, and Sunday, General Grant telegraphed to the President that on that day he received the surrender of General Lee and his army. The joyful excitement over the fall of Richmond had only in a measure subsided when came the welcome news of Lee's surrender, and the return of the President from Richmond to Washington, and now again the Nation was intensified with universal joy and gladness.

This joyous sacred day, the most happy and gladsome one ever enjoyed by the President, was spent by him in the Executive Mansion in seclusion with his family and near friends; he now laid his burden down, which he had borne for the past four years, and in cheerful and animated conversation with his friends and family, he expressed himself with confidence and trust in the future, and with thankfulness and gratitude for the present and past. This day of praise and thanksgiving was universal throughout the loyal States, and as the anthems of thankfulness and gratitude ascended from every church and hamlet to the Great Author of our National blessings for the return of peace and unity to the land and Nation, the honored instrument who had secured these great blessings was recognized and hailed as the saviour of the Union and the distinguished benefactor of the race.

On the evening of the 11th of April, 1865, the Executive Mansion was brilliantly and beautifully illuminated and the people assembled in immense numbers to express their joy and give utterances of exultation and gladness for victory and peace, and to give expressions of their love and admiration of the patient, suffering man whose administration stands pre-eminent in history as the grand consummation of renowned events the world has ever witnessed. On this occasion the President delivered his last public address. As he stepped on the portico before the vast audience, shouts of joy arose and gladness beamed on the uplifted human faces. The President's heart was full, the careworn face was wreathed in smiles. This was all appropriate, because the

Nation was redeemed. The President first referred briefly to the joyous occasion. Victory and peace were assured. To the brave soldiers whose victories have been so remarkable and effective, is due a Nation's gratitude, and to the Almighty Father were due the homage of our hearts and our sincere thanks for what He has done in the Nation's behalf, and for the signal manifestation of His providence in the success of our arms. Then, turning from the past and present, he spoke of the future and of the new responsibilities and duties which still devolved upon the Government and the people through their representatives. This address was mainly devoted to a consideration of the best means of reconstruction and how to bring back the seceded States again into the Union as speedily and with as little friction as possible. He said: "The quickest way back to old relations with the Government is the best way, without regard to any finely-spun theories."

The President's plan of reconstruction was embodied in a proclamation which accompanied his annual message to the Thirty-eighth Congress; but he said, "he was not committed to that plan alone; we all agree that the seceded States, so-called, are out of their practical relations with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to get them into their proper, practical relations." He was not committed to any particular plan, but with a characteristic absence of all resentment and anger toward the late insurgents, he evinced an anxious solicitude that Congress should take immediate measures to restore the rebel States to all the functions of self-government and equal rights and power in the Union as soon as circumstances, consistent with the National tranquility and safety, would permit. He further expressed his convictions and desire that in case a general amnesty should be granted to the rebels that at least a qualified right of suffrage should be accorded to the colored people of the slave States.

On the 12th, 13th and 14th days of April, the President was engaged, with Secretary Stanton, in the War Department in issuing proclamations and preparing measures, to be speedily issued, to stop all drafting and recruiting, to curtail purchases of supplies for the army, to remove all restrictions on trade and commerce, for opening all of the blockaded ports and measures preparatory for disbanding the army, and the return of its members to home, to friends and to the pursuits of peaceful industry, which they had left at the call of their country in her hour of trial and need.

The President had now reached the summit of fame and renown. None, whether of ancient or modern times, stood higher. Commencing at the very foot of the ascent, by the intuition of his natural abilities, he resolved, by his own efforts, perseverance and industry, on success. He persevered, aided

only by the people. As he was known by the people, his career was upward and onward, until he became the Chief Magistrate of a great and imperiled Nation, and here, laboring in the interest of unity, liberty and humanity, he secured the confidence, love and affections of his countrymen, and the respect and admiration of the Governments of the civilized world. The great trust and work committed to his care had been well and faithfully performed. He understood from the first the dangers and peril to which secession and treason had exposed our Union, and as the vast interests of country, liberty and unity were to be saved or lost in the momentous conflict impending, he rose to the dignity and importance of the occasion, and with a will of firmness and tenacity, and a heart humane and tender, he used the power given him by the people, both civil and military, until success crowned his labors. The results of his policy and administration are, that our Nation stands to-day united—disenthralled in the glorious light of universal liberty and humanity. And now, when the hour of triumph and joy had come to the people, peace, hope and happiness in all their fruition filled the heart of the President, his loving, liberal nature was already devising plans and measures for the welfare of a conquered people. His thoughts and labors were now for harmony and for the reunion and concord of the late rebellious States. He looked forward with anticipation and pleasure to the time, he then thought not far distant, when his measures for the welfare and good of all would demonstrate to the people of the seceded States that he had none but the kindest feelings toward them, and that he would treat them as graciously and gentle as the interests of all, and the public safety and good would permit.

On the 14th day of April, 1865, the sun rose in all its resplendent beauty. The day was remembered as the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumpter, and the lowering of our National flag to traitors and to treason; that was a day of indignation, anguish and humiliation. On this day, by the civil and military representatives of the Nation, the same old flag that went down four years previous in dishonor and shame was raised on the same battlements of the old fort in honor and glory, amidst the rejoicing and applause of the thousands present.

At the fall and desecration of the old flag were lighted aglow the fires of patriotism. A million of freemen sprang to the rescue to avenge the National insult, and restore to its wonted honor and glory that National emblem which long had been our country's pride and renown. The old, honored banner was restored to its proper place, every star, bright and effulgent, sparkling, luminous with the fires of liberty, renovated and renewed by the march of freedom. It now waves again, undimmed and untarnished, as a beacon to the oppressed of every land and people, with its glorious reminiscences of

former years when all, united, marched under it proudly in unity and to victory. It was now tendered as a peace offering, the olive branch to our subdued and misled brethren and countrymen. It was the initial step taken to inaugurate and foster a fraternal spirit and a unity of feeling which has continued to grow and increase until the bonds of concord and harmony have become more perfect and united than at any former period of our country's history. It was on this glad day when the hearts of all good men rejoiced to see that the expiring demon of treason in its throes of dissolution was preparing to strike its most atrocious and deadly blow. Failing to destroy the Union and dismember the best Government on the earth, it turned in all the bitterness and malignity of its insatiate passion to strike down the honored ruler of a people and Government it could not subdue or destroy. How far and how wide this nefarious conspiracy extended remains sealed and unknown to the American people. We have the charity to believe and the humanity to trust that the leaders of the rebellion in this foul assassin's plot and assassination were not directly concerned or implicated. We do know that there were men engaged in the rebellion that reprobated the accursed deed with horror and with honest indignation. But however much the leaders of the rebellion may have denounced and disowned the deed, the fact still remains that their insatiate and diabolical attempts to destroy the Government and Union and inaugurate and continue an intestine war for that object, were no less criminal in the eyes of the world and judgment of humanity than he whose principles were conceived in treason, and whose motives and action were in revenge for what treason had suffered.

Secretary Seward, in a reply to Hon. John Biglow, the American Consul at Paris, relative to conspiracies for the purpose of assassination, said: "Assassination is not an American practice or habit, and one so vicious and desperate cannot be engrafted into our political system. This conviction of mine has steadily gained strength since the civil war began. Every day's experience confirms it." Subsequent events and personal experience produced in the mind of the Secretary a very different opinion.

It is now well known that conspiracies were formed against the prominent officers of the Government, in the States, also in Canada and Europe, and Generals Grant and Sherman were not exempt from those plots. Evidence is wanting to establish the fact that these conspiracies were disowned or discouraged by the Confederate Government.

That the possibility of assassination frequently occurred to the mind of the President is evident from the numerous letters he received with threats of assassination. Scarcely had the rejoicings of the Republican party, on his election, subsided, before the mails brought him weekly, at Springfield,

letters and threats of that character. He regarded them, however, as malignant menaces of cowards and bullies. He often remarked, "a barking dog seldom bites." A friend expressed the idea that the rebels might attempt his life. Stepping to a desk and drawing from a pigeon-hole a package of letters, he said: "There, every one of these contains a threat to assassinate me. I, no doubt, would be nervous if I were to think and dwell upon the subject, but I have come to the conclusion that there are opportunities to kill me every day of my life if there are persons disposed to do it. It is not possible to avoid exposure to such a fate, and I do not trouble myself about it." On this subject he reasoned from his own feelings and sentiments, and could not comprehend the malice and revenge that would instigate such a crime. He had no resentments to gratify, no vindictive emotions to restrain and no measure of revenge to inflict. With those sentiments and feelings, the thoughts of personal assassination gave him but little unrest or trouble.

CHAPTER LVI.

ASSASSINATION—FUNERAL SERVICES AT WASHINGTON.

The morning of April 14, 1865, was spent by President Lincoln in interviews with friends' and members of Congress. Among them was Speaker Colfax, who was about leaving Washington for the Pacific Coast, and to him the President gave a verbal message to the miners, assuring them of his desire to protect their interests, inasmuch as their prosperity was identified with the interests and prosperity of the entire country. Later in the day a Cabinet meeting was held, at which General Grant was invited to be present. Later in the afternoon other friends came, and so in public and social duties the day was passed. Hon. George Ashmun of Massachusetts, who was President of the Chicago Convention, which nominated Mr. Lincoln for President, and who accompanied Senator Douglas on his memorable interview with the President at the outbreak of the rebellion, came in with others, and to him the President gave a note in pencil, the last words he ever wrote :

“ Allow Mr. Ashmun and friend to come in at 9 A. M. to-morrow.

A. LINCOLN.”

The President and General Grant had been invited by the manager of Ford's Theater to attend and witness that night the representation of “ Our American Cousin,” and had announced them both as positively to be present by a personal notice in the Washington papers: “ Lieutenant-General Grant, President and Mrs. Lincoln and ladies will occupy the State box at Ford's Theater to-night to witness Miss Laura Keene's Company in Tom Taylor's ‘ American Cousin.’ ”

General Grant's duties would not allow him to attend, and he had left the city in the evening. The President was not inclined to go, but having been announced publicly that he would be present, he did not wish to disappoint the people, and as his presence had been pledged he concluded to go. He invited both Mr. Ashmun and Mr. Colfax to accompany him, but they both having prior engagements declined. The President, with Mrs. Lincoln, then drove to the residence of Senator Harris, where they took in

Miss Harris and Major Rathborn, and then drove directly to the theater, which they reached at 9 o'clock, and found the theater filled in every part, and as they passed to the private box reserved for them, the whole assembly arose and cheered them with a most cordial welcome. The warm demonstration was an expression of congratulation for the Union victories that had been recently achieved, and the high esteem and regard they had for the President. Mr. Lincoln bowed in acknowledgment to the audience, took his seat and was soon absorbed in the representations of the play.

Shortly after 10 o'clock, John Wilkes Booth entered the theater and gradually made his way through the crowd to the box occupied by the President and party. He had worked his way to the passage leading to the box, and showing a card to the President's servant, saying that Mr. Lincoln had sent for him, he entered the passage, closing and fastening the door behind him. He approached the door of the box, where he found everything favorable for his diabolical purpose. While all were intently observing the play he took a derringer pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other. He quietly, and in an instant, presented his pistol near the President's head, as he was sitting in an arm-chair looking intently on the play. A sharp report was heard and the infernal deed was done. The unerring bullet had sped its way through the President's brain. The President was rendered instantly insensible and never knew friends or pain again. All was at once in commotion and consternation. Major Rathborn, the instant he comprehended what was done, sprang upon Booth, who, throwing him off, dropped his pistol and aimed a thrust at the officer's breast. He warded off the blow and received a wound in the arm.

The murderer rushed to the front of the box and leaped some twelve feet down on the open stage, his spur catching in the drapery, he fell, fracturing his leg. He arose immediately and flourishing his dagger exclaimed, "*Sic semper tyrannis*," and "the South is avenged;" then retreating quickly through the theater to his horse, which was being held by an accomplice, he mounted and was away before the audience fully comprehended what had been done. The scene among the audience at that hour baffles description. Laura Keane, the actress, requested the audience to be quiet, and entered the box from the stage, bearing water and cordials, but it was of no avail. The President was unconscious, and as soon as the surgeons, who had gathered quickly to him, ascertained the nature and position of the wound, the helpless President was carried across Tenth street to the house of Mr. Patterson. Surgeon-General Barnes, after an examination, pronounced the wound a mortal one. Those sad and sorrowful words fell upon the ears of the friends

and members of the Cabinet with all their mournful significance. Secretary Stanton, bursting into tears, exclaimed: "Oh, no, General; no, no." Secretary Wells, McCullough, and Attorney-General Speed, Postmaster-General Dennison, General Meigs and Senator Sumner were bowed around the bed in silent grief, the latter holding one of the hands of the President, and, weeping in bitter anguish, in silent sorrow, the great men of the Nation watched and wept at the bedside of the President until twenty-two minutes past 7 A. M., April 14, 1865, when he breathed his last. Then the stern and sorrowful Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, arose and closed the eyes of the President and leaning over him, mournfully said: "No one will ever know the anxious hours that you and I have spent together. You were my only witness; now you are gone and I am left alone." Then rousing himself from the intensity of his grief, he repaired to his office and gave the necessary orders to secure the Government to the Vice-President, Johnson, and to surround Washington with troops.

In an adjoining room to that in which the President lay was Mrs. Lincoln in all the abandonment of her great grief and sorrow, supported by her son Robert, and Mrs. Senator Dixon. How meager and unavailing were all attempts at solace and comfort in this sad and mournful hour!

While the assassination of the President was being consummated at the theater, in another part of the city an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. The assassin forced his way to the bedside of the Secretary and stabbed him three times, and then made his escape, wounding no less than five persons in his diabolical attempt. The arch fiend was Lewis Payne Powell.

The feelings of the citizens of Washington at this hour cannot be imagined, much less described. A solemn silence overspread that night the National capital. The avenues of the city were guarded, and every precaution was taken for the safety and protection of the other members of the Government.

We may here lay aside the pen, for who can describe a Nation's grief? How portray in language the change in a day of a people from rejoicing, gladness and triumph, to the lowest depths of sorrow, humiliation and anguish? How give the sounds of the mournful tolling bells? How describe that profound and tender grief that brought every family and household in mourning and tender sorrow and sympathy for the Nation's loss? How represent the insignia of mourning and sorrow that was displayed throughout the land? And how record the utterances of every pulpit in the land, from which came the voices of lamentation for the loss, and laudation and praise commemorating the goodness and virtues of the Nation's ruler, who had been so barbarously murdered?

Soon after the death of the President, his body was removed to the Executive Mansion, and there it was placed in a coffin, which rested upon a grand catafalque. The respect, affection and grief of the people were manifested by offerings of flowers, and the falling tears indicated the depths of sorrow.

On Monday, the 17th of April, a committee, of which Senator Sumner was Chairman, was appointed to make arrangements for the funeral. The committee selected as pallbearers Messrs. Foster, Morgan, Johnson, Yates, Wade and Conness on part of the Senate, and Messrs. Dawes, Coffroth, Smith, Colfax, Worthington and Washburn on part of the House. They also presented the names of members, one from each State and Territory of the Union, to act as a Congressional Committee to accompany the honored remains to their final resting place in Illinois, with the people he loved, and by them was loved so well. The Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Hunter, issued the following official notice:

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865.

“TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES: The undersigned is directed to announce that the funeral ceremonies of the lamented Chief Magistrate will take place at the Executive Mansion in this city at 12 o'clock, noon, on Wednesday, the 19th instant. The various religious denominations throughout the country are invited to meet in their respective places of worship at that hour for the purpose of solemnizing the occasion with appropriate ceremonies.

W. HUNTER,

Acting Secretary of State.”

At 10 o'clock on the morning of the 18th, the doors of the Executive Mansion were opened to the public, and thousands availed themselves of the opportunity to pay the last tribute of respect, to look, for a moment, on that kind, familiar face so dear to all. The high and lowly, the white and black, here mingled their tears and offered their tokens of affections side by side. It was a scene over which angels might weep, and yet rejoice, for humanity was communing with the invisible and immortal.

On the morning of the 19th, all the departments of the Government were closed, all public buildings, as well as many private dwellings, were draped in the insignia of mourning. The funeral services were conducted in the East-room, in which were assembled the relatives of the deceased, except Mrs. Lincoln, who was so deeply prostrated by her great affliction that she was unable to leave her room. The services were eminently fitting the solemn and interesting occasion. Cabinet members, members of Congress, Governors of States, as well as high judicial officers, were present to pay their affectionate tribute of love and respect, and to unite in expressions of affection and esteem for the Nation's dead. Rev. Dr. Hall of the Episcopal Church in Washington, opened the services by reading the appropriate service of his

church for the burial of the dead. Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Church then offered prayer. Rev. P. D. Gurley, Presbyterian pastor of Washington, in whose church the President and family were accustomed to worship, delivered the funeral address, and the service closed with prayer by Dr. Gray, Chaplain of the United States Senate.

Dr. Gurley's text was (Mark 11, 22): "Have faith in God." His address was eloquent, affectionate and eminently worthy of the solemn occasion. At the conclusion of the sad services in the Executive Mansion the honored remains of the President were borne to the capitol, followed by the members of Congress, and the Cabinet, and other notable personages present in Washington, and the numerous public and civic bodies of the city. The procession started at 10 A. M. The grand avenue leading from the White House to the capitol was cleared its entire length. As the hearse, drawn by six gray horses, emerged from the grounds of the Executive Mansion, the solemn, mournful sounds of the muffled drums were heard, and the military escort began its imposing march, with arms reversed. The sidewalks on either side, the house-tops, balconies and windows were filled and crowded with eager, sorrowful faces. As the funeral cortege reached the capitol, the military bands played a solemn requiem and from the numerous forts around Washington pealed forth from their minute-guns their loud and mournful sounds. The remains of the President were borne into the rotunda of the capitol, where Dr. Gurley completed the religious exercises of the sad and mournful occasion.

Pennsylvania avenue, leading from the White House to the capitol, presented a scene more imposing, impressive and solemn this day than had ever been witnessed, under circumstances so sad, so mournful and so lamentable, in the history of our beloved country. Never in the records of past ages did a loyal, free and generous people exhibit such demonstrations of universal grief. Never were shed such tears of anguish and sorrow as was paid at the shrine of the people's ruler. Never were the principles of the rebellion and treason against the Union, and the best and most liberal Government in the world, and the dark and sanguinary deeds of crime, set in prominence so bold and plain, and hated with an abhorrence and detestation so universal as were manifested this day in the sincere, mournful and imposing honors and testimonials tendered to the lifeless remains of President Lincoln. History has recorded it, and memory has inscribed it indelibly, and it will ever be remembered, written and uttered as the sincere and sublime homage of a deeply afflicted and sorrowing people at the shrine of the Nation's friend. And still more will it be regarded as the Nation's expression of its approval of his administrative principles of unity, freedom, justice and humanity, which have made his life noble and his name immortal.

CHAPTER LVII.

FROM WASHINGTON TO SPRINGFIELD—FUNERAL OBSEQUIES—REMARKS.

Thursday, April 20, 1865.—A solemn, impressive silence rests within the Nation's capitol. Senators and Representatives of the people walk the corridors with bated breath and measured tread, for within its portals repose the Nation's dead. The historical paintings representing remarkable periods or events in our country's progress and growth, clothed in weeds of mourning, seemed to look down upon the sad scene as one more historic and remarkable than any which they represented. With drawn swords, officers in silence watch by the side of him who lies in calm repose. The mournful stillness is only broken by the measured tread of feet, of the thousands who came to take their last farewell, to drop the tears of anguish and sorrow, and to mingle their tokens of love and affectionate regard for the illustrious dead.

On Friday morning the funeral train which was to bear the martyred President back to his old home, to his old friends and to the people he loved so well, left Washington surrounded by thousands who had assembled to witness the departure of the Nation's friend. With the casket containing the remains of the President, was borne the dust of his beloved son, Willie, whose death occurred in the White House, and as they came from Springfield together in life, so they return together in death. At 10 A. M. the funeral train reached Baltimore. Many thousands had here assembled to give a fitting reception and pay their last tribute of respect to the honored dead. The military display was grand and imposing, and all the ceremonies of the occasion did honor to the city and people, and to the memory of the eminent man they mourned. This wonderful, imposing manifestation of universal affection and grief by the citizens of Baltimore for the martyred President, gave testimony that cannot be controverted, of their high appreciation of the President's rule and policy which had given them a new National life.

Here, four years before, the President passed through the city in the night, for fear of assassination, and now all that testimonials of grief and

respect could contrive and devise was done to make the occasion and his return through the city an impressive and imposing vindication of his official policy and a lasting public testimonial to his memory. Late in the afternoon the mournful cortege left Baltimore amidst the countless multitude who, with heads uncovered, gave a fitting tribute of respect to the sleeping patriot. On to Harrisburg, along the route and at every station were thousands gathered, standing with heads uncovered and mute with grief. At every town and hamlet bells were tolled and mournful music filled the air. At Harrisburg, from early in the evening until 9 o'clock next morning, anxious crowds from the country, as well as of the city, pressed their way into the State House to gain a view of the features of the Nation's honored dead. From Harrisburg to Philadelphia, at every point and village, thousands of people had assembled and stood uncovered while the train passed, to express their grief and add their testimony to the universal sorrow.

Philadelphia had prepared to give an appropriate and suitable reception to the remains of the friend of liberty and the savior of the Union. From the cars the catafalque containing the remains was escorted to Independence Hall by a procession, the longest and the most remarkable in every respect that was ever witnessed in the city. How appropriate that the President's remains should rest for the time in this honored hall. Four years before, on the birthday of the father of his country, the President said in this hall, speaking of the distracted condition of the country and the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence: "Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world—if I can help save it." The President had saved the country, the Union, on the basis and principles he had described, and tens of thousands of mourning and grief-stricken citizens were here to honor him for it. On that same occasion, in that consecrated room, hallowed by the memories of the past, the President, after pledging himself anew to the principles of the Fathers of the Republic (having been publicly invited) walked to the platform and ran up to the top of the flagstaff the star, spangled banner, the beautiful National emblem prepared for the occasion. It then waved gloriously in the breeze amid the cheers and huzza's of the multitude assembled on that occasion. It might have been an omen then of our country's promise and success. It was, however, intimately connected and united with the principles and struggles which the honored dead had faithfully secured and defended, and as the same historic flag waved in still brighter effulgence and beauty over the honored remains, lowered, as it was, in respect of the departed, its appearance gave evidence that he had returned it to his people, every star sparkling and resplendent with liberty and unity, and the dark stain of oppression obliterated from its folds.

From 10 P. M. Saturday until Monday morning, during which time the honored remains laid in state, a constant throng filed through the hall, pressing their way to obtain a glimpse of the features of the good man who belonged to all. At 4 o'clock Monday morning the train left Philadelphia for New York, and through the entire State of New Jersey it seemed that the entire population had gathered at the different stations to witness the mournful cortege and pay their sad homage to the passing lamented dead.

At New York the public demonstration baffles description. Here the tongue is silent and the pen fails to recount the ceremonies and testimonials to the honored dead. Such exhibitions of popular feeling and tributes of affection have no parallel in the history of the world. The New York *Herald* said: "The people, with tearful eyes, under the shadow of the great affliction, watched patiently and uncomplainingly the moving of the honored dead and the mournful procession, and silently breathed over them the most heartfelt and fervent prayers. Such an occasion, and such a crowd, and such a day New York will never see again."

Onward to Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, to Chicago, and intermediate towns and villages, a circuit of eighteen hundred miles, the mournful cortege passed. At every city, town and hamlet the demonstrations of personal grief and sorrow were repeated. The people gathered with every testimonial of respect and evidences of affection and love that could be devised and exhibited for the illustrious dead. It was a Nation in mourning. All parties joined in their demonstrations of personal respect and grief with testimonials and funeral honors to the kind and illustrious patriot, such as had never been paid to any ruler or mortal before. It was an exhibition of popularity and veneration such as the world had never witnessed. When the funeral cortege reached Chicago, the State of Illinois had received its honored dead. He was now in his adopted State, with the people he loved and by whom he was loved so well, and with whom he had spent most of his life. Here he had enunciated with stirring eloquence those immutable principles of justice which stirred the State and Nation to their center, which created a revolution in party and policy, and a new National life. He had left his State and people four years previous, asking that their prayers might be offered up to the Great Ruler and Disposer of events, that he might have wisdom and help to guide the ship of State aright, and that he might have ability and discernment to so discharge the momentous duties devolving upon him in the great National crisis then impending, that he could return to his friends and people, hearing the plaudits of, "Well done, good and faithful servant." He had now accomplished his work. He had come back, his voice still in death, but clothed in immortality

and renown. But his lips had uttered, his acts had inscribed on the arch of the Republic those memorable words, "This Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and the Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

From Chicago the remains reached Springfield the morning of May 3d. Passing the long distance between the two places, at every town and station were renewed in the most affecting manner those demonstrations of sorrow and public grief, such only as could be exhibited by personal acquaintances and loving friends. But at his old home, in the midst of dear and intimate friends, endeared to him by a thousand blessed memories, was the companion, neighbor, friend, the beloved dead, received with such sorrow and tenderness, with such emotions of grief as only friends and neighbors could feel and tender. For twenty-four hours the constant, uniform tread of thousands was heard and seen night and day passing into the State House to take the last look and pay the last tribute of love and affection with a tenderness and emotion which none but lifelong friends can feel. The city, dressed in the extreme paraphernalia of mourning, with flags and every insignia of sorrow, and the State House, filled with neighbors and friends who clasped hands in mute anguish, with eyes filled with tears, bore witness to the great and universal sorrow.

At 10 o'clock, May 4th, the minute-guns, the solemn tolling of the church bells, and the military escort, with martial music, indicated the moving of the imposing and impressive procession which conveyed the distinguished and honored Nation's martyr to his resting place in Oak Ridge Cemetery, a lovely and beautiful city of the dead two miles from Springfield. The grounds were filled and occupied by a countless multitude, who looked on, sorrowful and silent, while the casket, with its honored dust, was consigned to the silent tomb. The Rev. Albert Hale, pastor of the church where, in former days, Mr. Lincoln and family were accustomed to worship, opened the religious exercises with prayer, the invocation of the good man to the Giver of all good, for His mercies and blessings to rest on the bereaved and stricken members of the family of the deceased, and on the families who had given loved ones to save their country, and for a reunited and an harmonious people, found a fitting response in every heart, and the stillness and solemnity of the occasion were only broken by the sighs and sobs of the sorrowing audience. A hymn written for the occasion was sung by a choir of two hundred voices. Selections of Scripture and the President's last inaugural were read, and Bishop Simpson, a tried and valued friend of the President, delivered an eloquent, able and affectionate address. Solemn requiems and dirges completed the exercises, which were closed with a benediction by

Rev. Dr. Gurley of Washington. There, in keeping with, and encompassed by, the lovely scenes of his early manhood, resting peacefully because his work is done, and well done—the honored, weary patriot rests. Here, in these consecrated grounds, rests the savior of his country, the emancipator of a race, and here the dedication of the magnificent and elaborate monument, erected by his people over his honored remains, brings vividly to the minds of all the occasion and utterances of those memorable words, spoken at the dedication of the Nation's cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863. They so tenderly and plainly indicate his deep appreciation and sensibility of that patriotism which was willing to suffer and die for country and humanity, that they may be appropriately given here :

“Four-score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war, we have met to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place of those who here gave their lives that a Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above any power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here ; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion ; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.”

For brevity of expression, depth of thought, beauty of dictation, and sublime utterances of patriotism, of love and devotion to his country, these brief and tender remarks on that mournful occasion will stand on record as way marks to all coming generations. The last sentence is an imperishable example and record of the principles, purposes and labors of the President's public life. Those words—“That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth”—are written words of brilliant, living light on the pages of our Nation's history, and

they are now and will be regarded by coming ages, the fruition of government, liberty and law in all their purity.

With the example of his illustrious life he has left them as a legacy to us, and they have become the heritage of the American people, and since their utterance they have been the ruling principle that has guided and governed our rulers of our reunited Union in the administration of its affairs until they have become the rule and policy of a new National life. And onward and upward our country, in the fulfillment of its great destiny, grows more effulgent in brightness and grandeur in its example of representative progress and principles, and in its mission of fraternity and benevolence to the estranged and oppressed of every land and people, then will be seen and realized the embodiment and enjoyment of liberty and equality in its manhood, the emblem, the type of universal emancipation and freedom, which is the glory of its age. And when, in the near future, our country has reached this high eminence to which it is inevitably ordained by that law which governs its own unfolding, then, as now, will the people, with reverent and grateful hearts, delight to honor and revere the savior of the Republic, the martyr to the constitution, to enfranchisement, to liberty and law—Abraham Lincoln.



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